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The Great Masters
in Painting and Sculpture
Edited by G. C. Williamson

GAUDENZIO FERRARI

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GAUDENZIO FERRARI

BY

ETHEL HALSEY

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1904

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TO

MY MOTHER

PREFACE

IT is a curious fact that the works of an artist of such magnitude as Gaudenzio Ferrari should in these days of universal research be little known to students, and practically unknown to the world at large. The master of the frescoes at Vercelli has been called the Michael Angelo of the Lombard School, as Luini has been termed the Raphael, and though these names must be quoted with many reservations, Gaudenzio was undoubtedly the most powerful and the most original artist that school produced.

In seeking for information about Gaudenzio, I have gone chiefly to the earliest and the latest writers on the subject, as those who wrote about him during the intervening centuries, with the exception of G. Bordiga, only repeat the traditions handed down, and show but little independent research. Colombo's "Vita ed Opere di Gaudenzio Ferrari" was the first serious attempt to trace his career made in modern times, and since that work appeared in 1881 much information has been obtained which renders it incomplete.

Gaudenzio Ferrari lived a long life, and was a most industrious and prolific worker; but all his masterpieces are in the smaller towns and villages of Lombardy, and off the beaten track, and they are therefore unknown to the general public. Now, however, that the Italian lakes and the lower valleys of the Alps are

more and more visited, that the accommodation found there is improving, and that the means of communication are increasing, the beautiful districts where Gaudenzio lived and worked have begun to receive their due appreciation. The map in this book may be of use to those who wander through the North of Lombardy, where the greater part of Gaudenzio's works still exist over the altars and in the churches for which they were originally executed.

I have, perhaps, not drawn enough attention to the German element which is to be found in Lombardy. It is natural to find it in a great trade centre like Milan, but it is also found percolating through the mountain valleys both in the diction and in the art. The type of Borgognone's angels is clearly Northern, and the impression is the same in those painted by Gaudenzio. The great Valsesian, however, possessed a power in depicting these "birds of God" which is as remarkable as it is unique.

I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my thanks for the kind assistance I have received from Count Alessandro Baude de Vesme, Director of the Royal Gallery at Turin; Signor Corrado Ricci, Director of the Uffizi; Signor G. B. Vittadini, Director of the Museum, Castello Sforza, Milan; Dr. and Mrs. J. P. Richter, Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni, Signor Adolfo Venturi, Mr. A. Bagnold, Mr. H. F. Cook, Herr Eugen Schweitzer, Signor Masoero, and others.

The quotations from Lomazzo I have taken from an old translation, as the quaint English more nearly conveys the flavour of the old Italian's diction.

ETHEL HALSEY.

18, STANHOPE GARDENS, S.W.,
October 1, 1903.

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GAUDENZIO FERRARI

CHAPTER I

LIFE OF GAUDENZIO FERRARI

In dealing with the first twenty or thirty years of Gaudenzio Ferrari's life, we are confronted with the difficulty which meets us in dealing with the lives of the greater number of the artists of the Renaissance, namely, a complete absence of documentary information. To arrive at the approximate date of his birth, we are forced to turn to the record of his death, which has recently been found in the archives at Milan, and which states that he died on January 31, 1546, aged about seventy-five. As a contemporary writer* mentions that Gaudenzio was over sixty at the time of his death, this places the date of his birth somewhere between 1471 and 1486. Though the only authentic portrait we have of him, which was painted shortly before his death, represents him as quite an old man,† it is difficult to accept the earlier date. For it would mean that this original and powerful artist had not only not developed his remark-

* Lomazzo.

† See p. 16.

able abilities till he was over forty, but also that the complete change in his painting, from the old traditions to the more fluid, broader technique of the day, took place when he was between fifty and sixty. With his strong character, this was hardly probable so late in life. Recent writers on the subject believe he was born about 1480, and this date seems the most likely.

In writing a life of an artist of the Italian Renaissance, we should naturally turn for information to Vasari's "Lives"; but that writer seems curiously ignorant of Gaudenzio's position as head of the Lombard School during the last years of his life. There are two short paragraphs about Gaudenzio. The second and longer one is printed towards the end of the work. This may have been one of those additions which Vasari complains were made to his book when it was printed without his permission.

The one contemporary writer in whose pages we find constant mention of Gaudenzio is Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, a Milanese artist. He must have been a lad at the time of Gaudenzio's death, but his first master was Giovanni Battista Della Cerva, and he was no doubt fired by him with his enthusiasm for the great Lombard. Lomazzo wrote two books, in which he expounds curious and fantastic theories about the art of his day, especially as exemplified by Raphael, Mantegna, Polidoro, Leonardo, Michel Angelo, Titian, and Gaudenzio, whom he calls the seven pillars of the Temple of Art.

Of Gaudenzio he says in one place: "Finally mine olde Master Gaudentius (though he be not much knowne) was inferior unto few, in giving the apt

motions of the Saintes and Angels, who was not only a very witty painter (as I have elsewhere shewed), but also a most profound Philosopher and Mathematician. Amongst all whose all-praise-worthy workes, (which are almost infinite, especially in this point of motion) there are divers mysteries of Christes passion of his doing, but chiefly a Crucifix called Mount Calvary at the Sepulcher of Varallo, where he hath made admirable horses, and strange angels, not only in painting, but also in Plasticke, of a kind of earth wrought most curiously with his own hand 'di tutto relievo'; through all the figures.

"Besides in the Vaulte of the Chappell of St. Mary di Grazia in Milane he hath wrought most naturall angels, I mean especially for their *actions*. There is also that mighty cube of S. Mary de Serono full of thrones of angels, set out with actions and habites of all sortes, carrying diversity of most strange instruments in their hands. I may not conceale that goodly Chapel which he made in his later time, in the Church of Peace at Milano, where you finde small histories of our Lady and Joachime, shewing such super-excellent *motions*, that they seem much to revive and animate the Spectators.

"Moreover the story of Saint Roccho done by him in Vercelli, with divers other workes in that Citty: Although indeede almost all Lombardy be adorned with his most rare workes. Whose common saying concerning this arte of *motions* I will not conceale; which was, That all painters delight to steale other men's inventions, but that he himselfe was in no great danger of being detected of theft hereafter. Now this

great painter, although in reason he might for his discretion, wisdome and worth, be compared with the above named in the first book, Cap. 29,* yet notwithstanding is he ommitted by George Vasary, in his lives of the famous Painters, Carvers, and Architects. An Argument (to say no worde of him) that he intended to eternise only his own Tuscanes."

The name Ferrari is common both in Piedmont and Lombardy, but no connection can be traced between the different families. Gaudenzio's branch belonged to the Valsesia, but it is possible that his family was closely related to the Ferraris at Vercelli. In the first contract signed by Gaudenzio in that town in 1508, a certain Eusebio Ferrari,† an artist, becomes guarantee for him. Gaudenzio was born at a small place called Valduggia, not far from Borgosesia, and, from a register taken of the houses at Varallo in 1536, we learn that his father was a painter, named Lanfranco or Franchino. The Valsesia still supplies most of the masons and house-painters in the North of Italy, and whatever may have been the rank of the elder Ferrari, it is probable that Gaudenzio not only learnt the rudiments of fresco-painting at an early age, but also, no doubt, acquired that feeling for broad and liberal treatment of wall surfaces which is so strong a characteristic of his work.

His mother was a member of the Vincio family of Varallo, a family well known in the Valsesia; and we find that Gaudenzio valued the connection, for in signing his early works he constantly adds "Vincius," "De Vincio," or "De Vince" to his own name. He also

* The seven artists mentioned on p. 2. † See p. 6.

signed himself "De Varali" or "De Varali vallis siccidæ," the greater part of his life. The family must have moved to Varallo when Gaudenzio was quite small.

He was probably sent to Milan at an early age, and in Scotto's studio he was brought into direct contact with the artists of the old Milanese School.* Here, too, began his friendship with Bernardino Luini, a friendship which had the happiest results on his art. Like Luini, his earliest works show that he experienced the influence of Bramantino and Borgognone. As these same early works show, he did not altogether escape the magic spell of Leonardo da Vinci, he must have studied in Milan between 1490 and 1498 during Leonardo's residence there. A "Pietà" in the cloisters of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Varallo is said to be his earliest existing work, and believed to have been painted in 1498. As this is the date of the fall of Milan and the flight of Ludovico Sforza, it is probable that Gaudenzio returned to Varallo that year.

During the next few years he must have been absorbed in the decoration of the chapels which were being rapidly built on the Sacro Monte at Varallo. Unfortunately, nearly all this early work has disappeared, partly owing to time and exposure, but chiefly to the pulling down and rebuilding of most of these early chapels at a later date. The only fragment of fresco that remains is in the present Chapel of the Pietà, which was originally the Chapel of the Procession to Calvary, and which was erected in 1503.† This painting and a few terra-cotta figures, together

* See p. 22. † Cotta.

with the Chapels of the Nativity and the Presepio, are all that remain of these early years at Varallo, though we know from various writers that a great many frescoes were executed. The few panel-pictures of this period show how completely Gaudenzio was the outcome of the old Milanese School, and it is not till much later that he allows the influence of the late Renaissance to infect his art, and, unfortunately, to destroy its charm.

The frescoes in the Chapel of St. Margaret in the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Varallo, representing scenes from the childhood of Christ, are the first important works that we possess. The cartello is not easy to decipher, though Bordiga made out the date to be 1507.* This date is, however, very probable, as the technique shows that it was done some time previous to the ancona at Arona.

It is difficult to give a date for Gaudenzio's first visit to Pavia. It may have been during his student days, and certainly before 1507, as the scheme of decoration in the above chapel recalls Borgognone's work in the Certosa, while we find the influence of both Borgognone and Perugino very obvious in the Arona altar-piece. It is a matter of great regret that the first picture of which we have the contract signed and dated at Vercelli in 1508 is lost. This work might have shown us even more clearly his artistic bent at that time. Eusebio Ferrari† is known to have worked at the Certosa, and, though possibly a relation, the friendship between them may have begun at Pavia.

This contract gives us some idea of Gaudenzio's

* See p. 32. † See p. 4.

Walker & Cockerell sc.

position. He is called "maestro," and must have had a fairly wide reputation to be summoned to Vercelli, where a good many artists were then working; he was evidently in flourishing circumstances, and married about this time. His wife belonged to Varallo, and had property there. A son called Gerolamo was born in 1509, and a daughter named Margaret in 1512.

In February, 1510, Gaudenzio signed a contract to paint an ancona for the Church of Santa Maria Nuova at Arona, on the Lake Maggiore. It is in the Borromean Chapel; and though no mention is made of that family in the contract, tradition says that the kneeling figure of a lady represents a Contessa Borromeo. Whoever she may be, she has the privilege of being one of the most interesting figures in one of the most perfect works Gaudenzio ever achieved. He took about a year over it, as we find from documents signed in June and July, 1511.

It is difficult to follow Gaudenzio's movements in his constant journeyings to and fro, but the political life of the time gives a certain clue to his wanderings. Leagues and counter-leagues made the Milanese territory a cockpit during the first thirty years of the sixteenth century. The constant movements of the French to hold the duchy of Milan, and the recurring invasions each time they were driven out, must have made life and property anything but secure for the inhabitants of the country. Just at this period, from 1509 to 1513, the Novarese district was particularly unsettled, and probably for this reason we find Gaudenzio working either at Varallo or in the Lake districts. Part of the frescoes in the Church of San Giulio, on the island of that name

on the Lake of Orta, belong to this period. Though quite ruined by damp and repainting, they have much in common with the frescoes in the Chapel of St. Margaret.*

Towards the beginning of 1512 he must have begun the first of his three great masterpieces—the frescoes on the screen across the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Varallo. They represent scenes from the life of our Lord, and were finished in 1513. We have no documents relative to this great work, but tradition says that it was commissioned by certain members of the Vincio family. Up to this point of his career we can trace the various influences he had come in contact with ; but here he throws tradition to the winds, sets his imagination free, and deals with these sacred subjects in so original a manner that we are rarely reminded of any contemporary treatment of similar scenes.

In 1513 the French were defeated at the second battle of Novara, and forced to withdraw from Italy, and, a temporary quiet reigning in the Novarese district, we find Gaudenzio accepting in 1514 the commission of an ancona for the original Church of San Gaudenzio at Novara. It was to be finished in eighteen months, and every detail is carefully arranged for in the contract. The length of time given points to the fact that he was busy with other work at that date, and in all probability it was the ancona for the Church of San Martino at Rocca Pietra, near Varallo. This ancona has been considerably altered at a later date, but in the panels and in the daintily carved figures on the summit we find all the charm of Gaudenzio's early work.

* See p. 64.

Another point of interest which sheds some light on Gaudenzio's movements at this time is the similarity existing between the design of this ancona and the one in the Chapel of San Abbondio in the Cathedral of Como, although the latter is entirely carried out in carved woodwork. Both are designed like temples, with finely-carved figures on the summits. The first notice in the Como archives relative to this ancona is in the year 1514. Though we have no mention of Gaudenzio's name, the greater part of the design is undoubtedly his, and much resembles the altar-piece begun at Morbegno in 1516, while the great tempera painted wings, though done rather later, are of special interest, as showing the renewal of the friendship between Luini and Gaudenzio.

We have no documentary proof of this, but the mutual influence of these two artists on each other begins to show in their works. There is also in Gaudenzio's art a distinct "rapprochement" to Leonardo, which is particularly striking in a "Last Supper" now hanging in the sacristy of the Cathedral at Novara. The only place he could have come into contact with him at this period was at Pavia, and there is indirect evidence of a meeting there. Leonardo had gone to Rome in 1513, and in 1515 he was at the French Court at Pavia. In 1516 he left Italy for good. Francis I. strove to bring back the golden days of Il Moro, and welcomed all artists to assist in the fêtes and Court functions which took place during the winter of 1515 and 1516. Gaudenzio's fame had spread through Lombardy, and it is probable he was summoned to Pavia. Lomazzo mentions a "Rape of

Proserpine" painted by Gaudenzio for Francis I. This picture, which is fully described in the "Trattate della Pittura," was sent to Fontainebleau, and has since disappeared. This is the only profane subject that Gaudenzio is known to have painted,* but—and this gives a further clue to the date—in the carvings of the Morbegno altar-piece designed by Gaudenzio this winter he introduces mythological subjects, such as Daphne turning into a laurel, etc., which would show that his interest had been revived in the fashionable classic subjects of the day. This, combined with the fact that the construction of this altar-piece was carried out by a carver from Pavia, points to the French Court as the place where Gaudenzio experienced again the influence of the great Florentine, and the interesting "Last Supper" at Novara shows the result.

Whether Luini was also at Pavia it is difficult to say. Court life would have little to attract him. The great spectacular effects would interest Gaudenzio, but he had in common with Luini a very sincere and deep religious feeling, and both are at their best in the great works executed for the Church. A "Descent of the Holy Ghost" at Romagnano, which is evidently done from a cartoon by Gaudenzio, is signed "Bernardinus Luinus," and dated 1517. It is difficult to accept this signature, though some of the heads are distinctly Luinesque, and the colouring recalls faintly Borgognone's fine ancona at Bergamo. This picture was originally in the form of a "tondo," and cut down to

* In the vaulting of the Chapel of St. Margaret and in the background of some of the frescoes on the screen are the only occasions when we come across pagan subjects in Gaudenzio's work.

its present shape some years ago. Now, the "Last Supper" at Novara was also a tondo, and also cut down to fit its present place in the panelling of the sacristy of the cathedral. But when we compare the Romagnano picture with Luini's work at this period, it cannot have come from his brush. In its present blackened condition, all that can be said is that the date is probably correct, and that it came from Gaudenzio's atelier. The use of gesso on the mantle of the Madonna points to an early period of Gaudenzio's life.*

It is a little difficult to follow Gaudenzio's movements between 1515 and 1528, for, though his home was at Varallo, he must have been constantly away. For a long time it was believed that he was in Rome working under Raphael between 1517 and 1520, but recent research has shown that he was busy with commissions in the Milanese territory. His signature is found on documents at Novara, Vercelli, and Morbegno, and we also know he twice painted conjointly with Luini for the Chapel of San Abbondio in the Cathedral at Como, once about 1518, and again about nine years later.

On January 9, 1521, he signed an agreement to take as pupil for six years Joseph Giovenone, the nephew of the painter of that name. This document throws a side-light on the uncertainties of existence in those days, as it particularly stipulates that in the case of war or plague preventing work the contract was to be suspended till such time as work could be resumed.

* He abandoned its use entirely during the Vercelli period in panel pictures.

Between 1521 and 1525 (the year of the Battle of Pavia) great unquiet prevailed; but during this period we find Gaudenzio, accompanied by his assistants, hard at work in the Valsesia and the Valtellina, and safe from the troops of King or Emperor, who ravaged the plains of Lombardy.

The decoration of the Chapel of the Crucifixion at Varallo was begun during this period. The chapel was built about 1517, but no document can be found relative to this remarkable piece of work. Gaudenzio worked on and off at it for many years, and finally left it to be finished by assistants. It contained many terra-cotta figures, and on the walls are painted a vast crowd, while on the vaulting are depicted angels in attitudes of despair and horror. In its present ruined condition it is difficult to judge what the original effect must have been like, but it raised Gaudenzio to the highest position among his contemporaries.

This chapel and the altar-piece at Morbegno occupied his chief attention till 1528, but he had other work on hand as well. About 1526 or 1527 he must have paid a visit to Parma, for in no other way could the influence of Correggio, which appears suddenly in his art about this time, so completely revolutionize his methods and ideas. This we see distinctly in the Como "Flight into Egypt,"* the "Christ with the Signs of the Passion," which was originally in the Valtellina,† and in his subsequent work at Vercelli.

We do not know which year Gaudenzio's first wife died, but by 1528 he had married again. His second wife was Maria Mattia della Foppa, from Morbegno;

* See p. 88. † See p. 89.

she was widow of a certain Giovanni Antonio de l'Olmo, of Bergamo, and had one son, ten years old, by her first husband, and was possibly of the same family as the great Foppa. In this year 1528 Gaudenzio moved his domicile to Vercelli.

From this time till 1536 he was working hard at commissions in that city, and rarely going away. We find his signature constantly during this period, either in contracts for work or as witness in family or other documents. His son Gerolamo becomes old enough to sign as witness in 1530, and also becomes a pupil to his father, and in the same year the name of Bernardino Lanino, who became his most important follower, appears for the first time in the archives.

In the autumn of 1532 he married his daughter Margaret to Domenico Pertegalle, surnamed Festa, of Crevola, near Varallo. In the wedding contract Gaudenzio and his son Gerolamo undertake to give her a dowry of 100 lire imperiale, payable in four years, and secured by a mortgage on Gaudenzio's house at Varallo.

Between the years 1530 and 1534 Gaudenzio accomplished the magnificent series of frescoes representing the lives of St. Mary Magdalen and of the Madonna in the Church of St. Christopher at Vercelli. These frescoes show him at the full zenith of his powers and are worthy of all the praise which has been bestowed on them.

In 1534 the authorities of the Sanctuary of Santa Maria dei Miracoli at Saronno opened negotiations with Gaudenzio for the decoration of the cupola of that church. On September 28 of that year he met the deputies at Milan, and signed an agreement to go to

Saronno the following Easter, and undertook not to begin any other work till it was finished. This agreement he carried out, and returned to Vercelli in October, 1535, leaving behind him one of the finest works of art in Northern Italy.

We do not know the exact date that Gaudenzio left Vercelli or when he settled definitely at Milan. An invasion of the French in 1536, who took many Piedmontese towns and threatened Vercelli, may have decided him to move his domicile a second time. He went first to Varallo, where we find him working between 1536 and 1539. Assisted by Bernardino Lanino and his son Gerolamo, he painted the cupola of the old church on the Sacro Monte and the Chapel of the Magi. In 1538 a violent quarrel broke out between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities relative to the finances of the Sacro Monte. This unhappy affair and the death of his son Gerolamo probably made the old artist leave Varallo, and he apparently settled in Milan, for all subsequent documents are dated from that city.

In 1539 he painted an ancona for the Church of Santa Maria in Piazza at Busto Arsizio, and in the autumn of that year we find him signing papers relative to his wife's affairs, arbitrating in a dispute between another artist and his patron, and the sale of his house at Varallo. In January, 1540, he signs a receipt for the final payment for the said house, and thus practically terminates his connection with his old home. He paid one more visit to the Valtellina, probably in 1541, and painted a lunette over the door of the Church of San Antonio dei Domenicani at Morbegno, besides

important works in the adjacent villages of Traona and Premona.

Gaudenzio was now the acknowledged head of the Lombard School, but during the last years of his life it is a sad fact that the quality of his work deteriorated rapidly. This may account for his complete eclipse during the succeeding centuries, as so much of his decadent work is in Milan, and judging by that, few would trouble themselves to visit the smaller places, where his finest productions are to be found.

This can be clearly seen in the frescoes in the Chapel of Santa Corona in Santa Maria delle Grazie at Milan, painted in 1542. A picture of St. Paul for the altar of this chapel was painted in 1543, and is now in the Louvre in Paris. The vigour is still there, but accompanied by a crudeness both of sentiment and technique.

We do not know which year his second wife died, but there is no mention of her or of her son later than 1540. In 1543 we find Gaudenzio taking a house for three years with Giovanni Battista della Cerva, a Milanese artist who became his associate for a short time. Della Cerva was unmarried, and appears to have had no kith or kin, for some months after Gaudenzio's death he makes a will, dated September 31, 1546, in which he left all his property to the Ospedale Maggiore at Milan, with directions to provide dowries yearly for two poor girls. We can imagine Gaudenzio gladly turning to this kindly friend as the burden of loneliness and the infirmities of age increased. We find them working together on equal terms at a "Last Supper" for the Church of the Passione at Milan in 1543 and 1544. Della Cerva apparently did not

accompany Gaudenzio to Saronno in 1545, for though the only assistant mentioned in the archives is a Battista, he appears to have been only a wood-carver, not a painter.

Della Cerva is said to have begun as a pupil of Bernardino Lanino. In the autumn of 1545 we find him working with Lanino, who was in Milan, and who had undertaken a large series of frescoes in the Oratory of St. Catherine in the Church of San Nazaro in Brolio, which were finished in 1546. The intimacy existing between the two young men and Gaudenzio is here gracefully shown, not only by the use of his cartoon for the centre painting, but also in a portrait group, where the old master appears between the two younger artists.* He is here depicted a broken-down old man with a kindly expression, but with a strained, anxious look. His last illness was probably already on him, for he died on January 31, 1546, as the following extract from the Milanese necrology tells: "Domenicus Majester Gaudentius de ferrarijs anorem circa 75 ex catarro suffocatus in prima, sine signo pestis decessit juditis Magestri Alexandri Granati."

We have some knowledge of his personal appearance and character from Lomazzo's writings, while the wording of the few contracts we possess also gives a clue to his popularity. He stands before us a good-natured, large-hearted man of a bright and cheerful disposition, and just and generous in all his dealings. He had regular features, an aquiline nose, auburn hair, and a

* "Il Lanino dipinse Gaudenzio suo precettore che disputava con Giov. Batt. Della Cerva, suo discepolo e mio maestro" (Lomazzo, "Trattate," etc.).

dignified and noble carriage. Lomazzo gives a list of his accomplishments as follows: "He was painter, modeller, architect, 'ortico,' natural philosopher and poet, and a player on the lyre and the lute." It is an interesting fact that Gaudenzio introduces a lute whenever he can, while in the Saronno cupola the variety of musical instruments in the hands of the celestial choir is very striking, and could only have been depicted by one who was thoroughly familiar with them.

The dominant note of his character was an intense and ardent piety,* which pervades everything he did; and it is this sincerity of heart that redeems to a certain extent even those faults of exaggeration and violence which his strenuousness led him to commit. The intercourse with the Franciscan friars during Gaudenzio's early years intensified this side of his character, while it developed the dramatic qualities of his art. In later life he is too often carried away by his enthusiasm, and sadly needs the control of a right judgment. His greatest faults are due to a want of balance of mind, accompanied by a curious lack of the critical faculty. This is seen clearly in the works he undertook from time to time, conjointly and on equal terms with artists like Fermo Stella, Lanino, and Della Cerva. Though they are obviously his inferiors in technique and in range of ideas, he seems heedless of their shortcomings, a fact which, while it speaks highly for his good-nature, shows a deplorable lack of æsthetic taste. He does not seem to realize that the finest composition may be injured by indifferent execution,

* "We find in Gaudenzio the devotion expressed in the book of saints" (Lomazzo).

and many of his works suffer in consequence. This special point was, however, noticed by his contemporaries, and in more than one contract his patrons protect themselves against the work of his assistants by stipulating that Gaudenzio only is to do the painting.* He always seems willing to fall in with the wishes of others, and we never hear of quarrels with his patrons, and any differences are always amicably and easily settled. When painting the ancona for Casale, he lets his imagination go, and paints an altar-piece twice as fine as the one commissioned. When the brothers De Nanis object to the greater size and value, he willingly cuts it in two. At Arona he agrees that if, when the work is finished, two competent artists decide that the value does not come up to the price settled upon, he shall return part of the money, and then makes himself secure by painting an altar-piece so beautiful that there can be no two opinions in the matter. Always willing to oblige his patrons, the contracts show that he was also thoughtful for his assistants, and provides for their needs, while the family documents show him equally thoughtful, fair, and generous, in his private life.

He would take infinite pains to alter anything he considered not good enough in his *own* work. When painting in fresco, he would have the surface of the wall destroyed and prepared over and over again, till he got the desired result. He never cared for riches, and though he depicts gay and varied costumes in his paintings, he always dressed simply and in sober hues. He had a great desire to preserve both the dress and

* See p. 61.

speech of the Valsesia from innovations which he disliked.

Many of his recorded sayings show a strong commonsense, as when he objects to the Madonna and the Apostles being painted in gorgeous robes, "which," as he says, "they never wore." The only time he himself gave way on this point was about 1515 and 1516. The "Annunciation" at Berlin, and the Madonnas in the Vittidini Collection and in the Brera, are the only ones thus attired. The technique shows that they were done about this time, and they were probably commissions for the splendour-loving Court at Pavia.

CHAPTER II

THE ART AND DEVELOPMENT OF GAUDENZIO FERRARI

THE fame of Leonardo at Milan is perhaps the reason why the existence of a distinct and original Lombard School was more or less ignored till within the last century. The portion of that school which became revolutionized by Leonardo's methods was at or near Milan, where, however, the old Milanese School as represented by Foppa, Civerchio, Borgognone, Zenale, and others, still held its own. In the outlying parts of Lombardy, and especially west of the Ticino, we find artistic activity at Lodi, Pavia, Novara, Vercelli, in the Lake districts and in the lower valleys of the Alps. Of these places, Pavia and Vercelli were the most important, and there the Milanese and Piedmontese Schools amalgamated, the latter being practically a subdivision of the former. The Court of Ludovico Sforza at Pavia, and the decorations of the Castello and of the Certosa, brought a diverse group of artists* to that place, the most important of the painters being Borgognone, Macrino d' Alba, and Perugino. As to Vercelli, we find certain families of artists settling there during the last thirty years of the fifteenth century, such as the Oldonis from Milan, the Giovenones from Novara, and the

* Zenale and Buttinone worked in the Castello. Bernardino di Conti came from Pavia. Eusebio Ferrari worked in the Certosa.

Ferraris from Chiasso and Desena. During the *débâcle* which followed the fall of Ludovico Sforza, we find many artists gravitating between Milan and Vercelli, which seems to have been a town of considerable artistic activity.

As we have no evidence that Gaudenzio studied first at Vercelli, we can dismiss the tradition to that effect. His earliest works show the influence of certain Milanese artists, and when he came to work at Vercelli he was already far superior to the artists of that place. Vercelli possesses some of his greatest works, but it was at Milan that he received his training.

I should be inclined to divide Gaudenzio's career into five periods. The first period comprises his early training, and lasts till the completion of the great screen in Santa Maria delle Grazie at Varallo, in 1513. The second lasts from 1513 to about 1520, and shows the still further development and maturing of his powers. The third period lasts from 1520 to 1528, when he went to live at Vercelli. During the early part of this period he painted his finest panel pictures, and also worked at the altar-piece at Morbegno and completed the great Chapel of the Crucifixion at Varallo. Towards 1526 or 1527 he came under the influence of Correggio, as we shall see when we study his works in detail. To the Vercelli period, which lasted from 1528 to 1536, belong the magnificent frescoes executed in the Church of St. Christopher in that town, and the Angel-Choir in the cupola of the Pilgrimage Church at Saronno. From 1536 till his death in 1546 he executed his last works at Varallo, and the paintings that still exist in the galleries and churches at Milan. During the last ten years of

his life his art degenerated rapidly, and, as he has been generally judged by his work at Milan, there is little wonder that his reputation as an artist suffered so complete an eclipse. Though these divisions are purely arbitrary, they enable us to study his works to a certain extent chronologically. We have few dates to go by, but by grouping round the few signed pictures, or the works about which we have documentary evidence, those which have the same qualities and show the same point of technical development, we can arrive at a fairly accurate idea of his life's work.

Gaudenzio's first masters were Stefano Scotto and Luini. About the former little is known. Lomazzo mentions that he excelled in arabesques, a form of art which can have appealed but little to his pupil, and we only find arabesques twice in Gaudenzio's works. The Scottos had come from Piacenza about the middle of the fifteenth century, and the names of various members of the family are found in the archives of Milan.* The most interesting document relative to the position of the Scottos is one about a society of artists who called themselves "L' università dei pittori milanesi." This document states that this society met on February 2, 1481, at the house of one Melchiore Scotto, and gives a list of seventy members. Among them we find Borgognone, Zenale, and Buttinone. This document shows that not only was Scotto's house a meeting-place of the Milanese artists, but, as the above names indicate, it was possibly the centre of the old Milanese School, as distinct from, and possibly rival to, Leonardo's famous Accademia. The old Lombard School remained

* "Annuali della fabbrica del Duomo di Milano."

quite twenty years behind its Italian contemporaries, and this in spite of the quickening spirit of Leonardo, and the new facilities afforded by painting in oils, which had been recently introduced at Milan by Flemish artists.

I have dwelt rather long on this subject; for if this theory is correct, it explains how it is that Gaudenzio, coming as a lad into this rather circumscribed centre, shows in his earliest works a curious straining after early fifteenth-century methods, at a time when such new and powerful influences were at work in the art world at Milan, and influences far more in harmony with his natural gifts. The feeling for quick and lively movement is there, but is suppressed as he strives to attain to the quieter, more grave and dignified atmosphere of the older generation of artists.

In architecture wider influences were at work: Foppa had introduced the classic ideas of the Paduan School, and Bramante had developed Italian Renaissance architecture to its highest form by enriching the Byzantine and Gothic styles with ideas drawn from Græco-Roman sources. Bramantino continued his work, and the whole of Lombardy bears proof to-day of the beauty and refinement of their art. Lomazzo mentions a book of architectural designs by Bramante, "which," he says, "much influenced Raphael, Polidoro, and Gaudenzio." This accounts for the slight similarity in certain architectural backgrounds, which led later writers to place Gaudenzio among Raphael's pupils instead of recognising that both artists had taken from the same source. Lomazzo also mentions a book of drawings of buildings and studies for presepios and

rooms, by Civerchio and Buttinone. This book, which was highly prized by Gaudenzio, was given by him in his old age to Cesare Cesarini, one of his pupils.*

Luini seems to have used his influence at this time in directing his young pupil's attention chiefly to the works of Borgognone and Bramantino. The impressions of these two masters are found in Luini's own early work† as well as in Gaudenzio's, and it is possible that when Luini went to Borgognone's studio‡ his pupil went with him. Perugino's work at the Certosa in 1495 was also noted by Gaudenzio, as we shall see later on.§

But Gaudenzio possessed a vivacity and a dramatic sense which demanded far more of art than the old Milanese School could give. The force and rhythm of movement appealed to him as to no other contemporary Lombard. Now, there was but one master of movement at Milan at that time, namely, Leonardo da Vinci. As we know, Leonardo particularly strove to represent the subtle shades of expression of face and gestures in his figures, and it is this *spirit of life* in every line of his work that fascinated his contemporaries. While most of his followers failed to see this essence of his genius, and, copying slavishly, produced commonplace or grotesque results, Gaudenzio grasped and absorbed this fundamental truth. He was never a pupil of Leonardo's, and could not have comprehended the subtle and varied qualities of his character. This feeling for vitality is one of the few things they had in common, but it is the chief quality that distinguished Gaudenzio

* Work by this inferior artist can be seen in the Valsesia.

† See Brera Gallery. ‡ Lomazzo. § See p. 38.

from his Lombard contemporaries, and became his greatest characteristic when he finally emancipated himself from the traditions of his youth.

During his first years of independent work the influence of Leonardo is not very apparent. But the old order was changing, and the new order, with its complicated theories of chiaroscuro, perspective and movement, was most effectively bringing in another range of ideas, both in technique and composition. Just as Luini's temperament had been attracted by the one, so was Gaudenzio's livelier imagination attracted by the other; and it was possible that it was Gaudenzio who first inspired Luini with an appreciation for Leonardo's genius, which developed after the great Florentine's return to Milan in 1507. Luini's "maniera grigia" seems to be the result of trying to combine Borgognone's gray flesh tints with an attempt at chiaroscuro after the manner of Leonardo, and it is my belief that after Leonardo had left Italy in 1516 Luini's last or blond manner was the result of renewed intercourse with Gaudenzio, whose colouring was at this period of his career of quite extraordinary brilliancy.

To sum up the results of Gaudenzio's early training, we find him for many years faithful to the old traditions. His genius, however, could not fail to develop itself on its natural lines. A modern writer* has drawn attention to the impetus given to dramatic art by the Franciscan movement, and Gaudenzio, working in a Franciscan atmosphere at Varallo, is able to give expression to his great gift for dramatic action, as the screen across the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie bears witness.

* Sir Martin Conway.

The originality of the composition, the life and vivacity of the figures, and the audacity of the perspective, are most striking. But the undue length of limb, the want of anatomical knowledge, especially in the hands, and the lack of restraint, are also noticeable. The renewed intercourse with Luini, which possibly began at Como about 1514, was also most beneficial to Gaudenzio, who had remained faithful to a great extent to the early types of features, hands, and forms that he had learnt at Milan. After this date the long, attenuated beings gradually disappear, and Gaudenzio's figures acquire reasonable proportions, while the hands become like Luini's, a large peasant type, soft and rounded and anatomically correct. His children also approach nearer to Luini's child Christ, and the small, solidly modelled "putti" we find in Gaudenzio's second and third periods are admirably drawn. The restraining influence which Luini seems to have had was distinctly beneficial while it lasted. With better modelling, intenser colour, and moderation of violent and exaggerated attitudes, Gaudenzio executed some of his finest panel pictures, and, though less single-minded than Luini, he shows himself far more powerful than his former master.

One last but important influence came into Gaudenzio's life about 1527, namely, that of Correggio, as we see by the works at Como and Bellagio. These two natures had much in common. They both had a strain of originality bordering on the fantastic, and both possessed a dramatic force in the conception, and a natural swiftness and impetuosity in the execution, of their art. Both men were sincerely religious, and both

were able to depict the fervour of spiritual ecstasy in a remarkable manner.

This influence, which led Gaudenzio to make many interesting changes in his mode of artistic expression, had eventually a disastrous effect on his art. While the influence of Luini tended towards simplicity and restraint, that of Correggio had the contrary effect. The new system of strong chiaroscuro and the massing of clouds and flying cherubs often give confused and unsatisfactory results. Though we have such magnificent works as the frescoes at Vercelli and the Angel-Choir at Saronno during the following decade, Gaudenzio gradually allows his rapidity of execution and his exuberant fancy to lead him astray. His fine and striking ways of expressing emotion, his wonderful richness of invention, and his pure, strong colouring suffer in consequence. His touch coarsens, his colour scheme becomes crude and fiery, and the movement of his figures violent and exaggerated.

His influence is found throughout Lombardy, where his followers strove to imitate his methods. The most important of these was Bernardino Lanino, who became his pupil in 1530, at a time when Gaudenzio had completely abandoned the old style for the new. A "Last Supper" in the old convent behind St. Christopher (now used as a charitable institution) is attributed to him by Signor Frizzoni. His earliest dated work (1534), now in the Turin Gallery, shows that he closely imitates his master's new methods. The composition of a fine altar-piece at Borgosesia, which is dated 1539, proves that he had a strong feeling for both form and colour; but his later works show that as he develops

his scheme of colour becomes paler and browner than Gaudenzio's. The two "Depositions" hanging in the same room in the gallery at Turin show this clearly. A "Madonna and Child" in the Poldi Pezzoli, which has long been attributed to Gaudenzio, is a fine panel painting by Lanino. The beautiful face is the type of Gaudenzio's Vercelli Madonnas, but the type of the child Christ is not his. This, together with the general brown tone of colouring, is similar to that in a picture of a Madonna and Child in the Turin Gallery, which is there rightly attributed to Lanino. Unfortunately for Lanino, the constant use of the cartoons left him by Gaudenzio, combined with a weakness of execution, destroyed all originality and charm in his work, as many large altar-pieces testify.

Of Gaudenzio's other pupils and assistants little is known. Fermo Stella was his assistant at Morbegno about 1520, and also in the Chapel of the Crucifixion on the Sacro Monte, and some fairly good altar-pieces by him are still in existence. Della Cerva was Gaudenzio's assistant at Milan for a short time before his death, and frescoes by him can still be seen in that city.

CHAPTER III

EARLY YEARS

In the preceding chapter I have endeavoured to trace Gaudenzio's artistic evolution. We will now proceed to examine his works in detail. It is a little difficult to place them chronologically, as his easel pictures were always more carefully finished than his fresco work. There are, however, a certain number which we can definitely place before the ancona at Arona in 1510. Tradition says the "Pietà" in the cloisters next Santa Maria delle Grazie at Varallo is his earliest existing work, and was painted in 1498. It is certainly a very youthful production, but, though the figures are stiff, there are a simplicity and a quietness that give intensity to its pathos.

Another fragment of early fresco work is in the Chapel of the Pietà on the Sacro Monte at Varallo. This chapel was constructed in 1504, and was originally the Chapel of the Journey to Calvary. This fresco has, unfortunately, been restored to such an extent that any primitive charm the figures may have possessed is lost, and only the weakness of construction is apparent, while its only technical interest lies in the use of gesso in the armour and the trappings.

The four interesting little panels in the gallery at Turin are the earliest easel pictures we possess. His

peculiarities are here very strongly marked, and the Borgognone and the Bramantino influences clearly shown, while in the feeling for movement and in the types of some of the heads we see the trace of Leonardo's magnetic art. The drawing is still very faulty, and the length of the fingers (see Plate II.) unduly exaggerated. These long, stiff fingers, the heavy, drooping upper eyelids, the lights on the hair indicated by rather coarse brush work, the strained, pensive expression, the curious pursed-up lips—all these are traits which we shall constantly come across.

The least interesting is No. 44, which represents "the Almighty," but No. 48, "Joachim driven from the Temple," shows us a good architectural background, while both the pavement and the vista through the arch are interesting attempts at perspective. (The colouring and composition of this little panel may be compared with two little panels by Borgognone in Room 5 in the same gallery.) The weakness in the drawing is very apparent, but there is a graceful feeling for drapery, which goes far to redeem the general effect.

No. 47, representing the Madonna and Child with St. Anna and two angels, is a charming composition, but is, unfortunately, much injured. The angel to the right recalls a drawing by Leonardo, so also does the graceful pose of the Madonna's head, while the scarlet and gold braid net on her hair and the scarf thrown lightly round her shoulders are distinctly Peruginesque. All through these early years the impressions of first one and then another contemporary artist appear, to be all eventually made subservient to Gaudenzio's own very real and very powerful genius.

Anderson photo *Turin Gallery*

JOACHIM DRIVEN FROM THE TEMPLE

To face p. 30

These panels were obviously painted about the time that Gaudenzio executed the frescoes in the Chapel of St. Margaret in Santa Maria delle Grazie at Varallo—that is to say, about 1506 or 1507. These frescoes have the special interest of being the only ones of any importance belonging to this early period which are extant in their original condition.* Of his chief works during these years there are, unfortunately, no traces left. The frescoes in the chapels of "St. Francis," "the Betrayal," "the Magdalen," "the Repose," "Christ before Pilate," and, on a portico, "Christ carried to the Sepulchre," all belonged to this time; but the original buildings were pulled down during the next two centuries to be replaced by larger and more pretentious edifices, and Gaudenzio's work perished.

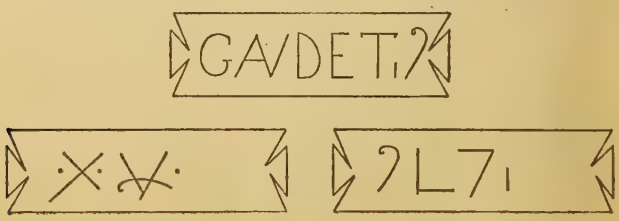
For the same reason it is difficult to trace Gaudenzio's early work as a modeller—"plasticatore," as Lomazzo calls him. The terra-cotta figures in many shrines in Northern Italy belong to a form of art indigenous to this part of the country. During the first half of Gaudenzio's life he undoubtedly executed many such figures for the original chapels on the Sacro Monte, but during the changes made a century later most of the original figures disappeared, though a few can be found fitted into more modern groups. Two of these figures are in the present Chapel of "Pilate showing Christ to the People," and show an individuality of treatment far superior to the other work. The only chapels belonging to this early period which are still in their original condition are those of "the Holy Family"

* The frescoes in the Church of St. Giulio are repainted. See p. 65.

and the "Adoration of the Shepherds." These chapels are made in grottos of the natural rock. The figures representing two of the shepherds were renewed at a later date, and the bambino stolen from both chapels at different times, but the rest of the groups are the work of Gaudenzio's youth.

Gaudenzio also combined painting and modelling to a certain extent by the use of gesso during the first half of his life. He abandoned its use completely during the Vercelli period, and it is rarely to be found even on his early panel pictures, but in his frescoes he uses it very effectively to represent metal in armour and trappings.

The frescoes in the Chapel of St. Margaret represent scenes from the childhood of Christ. The roof is elaborately decorated with "grotteschi," which depict a curious mixture of sacred and profane subjects, such as Orpheus and his lute, Hercules clubbing the Hydra, and angels playing on musical instruments or holding cartouches on which are inscriptions. These inscriptions were deciphered by Bordiga, who believes them to represent the words: "Gaudentius—anno 1507."



Alinari photo *Turin Gallery*

THE MEETING OF JOACHIM AND ANNA

To face p. 32

Anderson photo *Turin Gallery*

DETAIL OF THE MADONNA AND CHILD, ST. ANNA AND ANGELS

To face p 32

This date is probable, as the immature technique shows that these frescoes could not have been executed at a later date. The angels, with their elongated figures and long, thin limbs, and the arrangement of the draperies, recall peculiarities in Bramantino's early work in the Ambrosiana Pinacoteca, but there is more movement in the swirl of these aerial vestments than in anything produced by that artist. On the ceiling are four tondos in brown chiaroscuro which represent "The Annunciation," "The Nativity," "The Adoration of the Magi," and "The Flight into Egypt," and are executed with minute care.

The walls of the chapel are covered by two large frescoes, representing to the right "Christ disputing with the Doctors," and to the left "The Presentation in the Temple." This last is much injured by damp and retouching, but there is much that recalls the Turin panels, while the figure of the youth to the right has much charm.

The "Disputation" was long considered a proof of Gaudenzio's intercourse with Raphael, owing to a certain similarity in the architectural background with that of "The School of Athens." But, as we have already seen,* the resemblance came from both artists taking from the same source, namely, Bramante. If the date of the cartouche is correct, this chapel was finished before Raphael went to Rome, and therefore two or three years before the Stanza della Segnatura was painted.

We find in the technique many of the faults of his youthful work, but in the grouping of the figures we

* See p. 23.

may note with interest a scheme of composition which here occurs for the first time, but which we shall find constantly recurring in Gaudenzio's work. Whether the scene represents a "Disputation," a "Last Supper," a "Pentecost," or an "Ascension," the arrangement of the *dramatis personæ* is practically the same. In the "Last Supper" this form of composition, so different from the Tuscan and Umbrian ideas, comes direct from the Byzantine sources at Ravenna and Milan,* and shows how tenaciously the young artist held to the old ideas, in spite of the fame of Leonardo's great work at Milan.

In the colouring of this fresco we find delicate shades of reds, blues, and yellows, shown up pleasantly by the gray stone background, while a stronger tone is introduced by the use of a dark brown, which here throws into relief the figure of the child Christ. This dark brown and certain shades of rich mulberry reds are much used during this stage of Gaudenzio's career, and contrast well with his light scheme of colouring. Gold is only used for the halos of Mary and Joseph and the child Christ.

The human touch, which is never absent from Gaudenzio's work, is depicted in many ways—in the pathetic attitude of Mary and in the puzzled faces of the doctors, while the high mission of the Holy Child is clearly shown. Gaudenzio was not only an intensely religious painter, but a dramatic one as well, and he never fails to impress on us the true meaning of any scene he represents.

In the Church of Sant' Antonio at Quarona, near

* See Ravenna mosaics.

H. Burton photo *Museum, Varallo*

HEAD OF A MONK ASLEEP HEAD OF AN ELDERLY MAN

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Varallo, is a picture of the Madonna and Child and angels. It is much blackened and injured, but belongs to this early period. Two panels, once forming part of an ancona in the Church of San Giovanni, outside Quarona, are now in the museum at Varallo. They represent a local saint, Santa Panacea, and St. Peter, and are attributed to Gaudenzio, but seem to me more probably done by an early follower. A small St. Sebastian, much injured, and a Santa Petronilla, are also in this gallery. The latter was painted outside a mountain Chapel, and though her red robe and yellow cloak are still discernible, the picture was much injured by weather before it was moved to the museum.

The best things in this museum are two small "tondi" representing St. Peter Martyr and a monk asleep, and the portrait of an elderly man in a red cap. The delicate colouring of the "tondi" is charming, while the sweep of the brush shows the beginning of his emancipation from the small, dry strokes of his earliest method. This is shown still more clearly in the portrait, where the features are put in with strength and vigour. This picture is interesting as being the first portrait we have from his brush.

Two pictures of the Annunciation must also be mentioned here, one now in the collection belonging to Lady Layard at Venice, the other belonging to Herr Eugen Schweitzer at Berlin. They both consisted of two panels, but only the angel exists of the one at Berlin, the other half of the picture having been lost. The freer brush work shows it to be of a slightly later date than the picture at Venice.

This "Annunciation" is the finest existing work

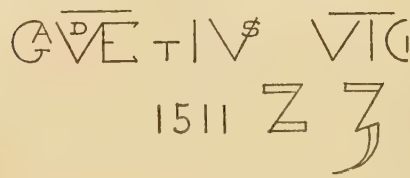
painted previous to the ancona at Arona. Though it has much in common with the panel at Turin (No. 47), both in the types of the heads and in the dryness of the technique, it is a far finer picture. The execution is better, and it is also in a far better state of preservation. It recalls strongly Borgognone's scheme of colouring, especially in the pallid flesh tints, while the blues, though heavy like all Lombard blues, are harmonious and agreeable in tone. The Virgin, who is seated before a desk, wears a scarlet and gold net on her hair, as in the Turin picture. A blue mantle lined with green is draped over her red dress, while a bronze-coloured curtain falls behind her, and throws up in relief her fair hair and delicate features. The angel kneels before her with a red mantle thrown over his white robes, and it is to be noted that he holds a cross, round the staff of which is a scroll bearing the sacred salutation, an unusual rendering of the subject. The two panels are united in composition by the long wooden terrace ledge and the blue sky speckled with clouds, which form the background to both figures.

We will now examine the ancona in the Church of Santa Maria Nuova at Arona, on the Lake Maggiore, which is one of the most perfect things we have from Gaudenzio's brush. Hitherto we have had to dispense with documentary evidence for dates, or accept such traditional ones as agreed with the technique of the works themselves. The earliest documents we possess were signed at Vercelli in 1508 and 1509, and refer to an altar-piece painted for the Church of the Confraternity of Santa Anna in that town. It represented Santa Anna and two saints, but it has since disappeared.

The contract for the ancona at Arona was drawn up and signed on February 25, 1510, at Arona. Gaudenzio undertakes to design and supply the framework of wood, carved and gilded, in three or four months' time, and to go to Arona and paint the panels in oils as soon as he could. He undertakes that the ancona shall be completed and in its place over the altar of the principal chapel of the above-mentioned church by Easter Day the following year. The price is to be 150 ducats, and he agrees to the stipulation that after it is finished experts are to value it. If these experts judge the value to be less than 150 ducats, Gaudenzio consents to give back what they consider right; if, on the contrary, the ancona is considered of greater value, the people of Arona are not obliged to give more than the stipulated sum. A document exists referring to this arrangement, dated June 5, 1511. Whether no expert was forthcoming, or the beauty of the work was so self-evident, a third document, dated July 26, 1511, states that, at the urgent request of Gaudenzio to have the matter settled, not only was the whole sum paid, but it expressly states that no restitution would be expected whatever the verdict of later experts might be.

The altar-piece is divided into nine parts. In the centre is "The Adoration of the Child." In the lunette above are the Almighty and two angels. To the right, above, are St. Martin and St. Jerome, and to the left St. George and Sant' Ambrogio. Below, to the right, are St. Peter Martyr and San Gaudenzio protecting the kneeling figure of a woman, while to the left are St. Catherine and St. Barbara. The lowest row consists of the predella, in three panels, representing Christ

and the Twelve Apostles. Among the "grotteschi" under the columns are two cartouches, with Gaudenzio's signature and the date:



In the central panel, the Child, who is supported by St. Joseph and an angel, looks up at the kneeling Madonna, while another angel behind the group plays a lute. In the background is the manger, and to the left a landscape. As Signor Venturi has justly pointed out, the composition and design of the principal figures are taken from Perugino's panel which is now in the National Gallery in London, but which had been painted recently for the Certosa at Pavia. The attitude of the Madonna, the flowing lines of her draperies, the position of the Child, the pillow on which it is being held, are practically identical with Perugino's work. But there the similarity ceases. This fair-haired Madonna, with her crimped golden tresses, differs not only in type, but in sentiment, from the Peruginesque ideal. The thrill of emotion playing over the features replaces the dainty aloofness of the Umbrian Madonna, and we feel the glow of tender mother-love radiating towards the little one, which, while robbing the picture perhaps of a certain religious quality, makes it attractively sweet and human.

The colouring of the whole ancona is rich and har-

Jacchini photo

Santa Maria, Arona

ANCONA

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monious. In the above composition the Madonna's rich blue mantle, her purple robe and light-green scarf, the white robes of one angel and the delicate pinkish draperies of the other, make a charming scheme of colour, strengthened by the rich browns and yellows of St. Joseph's raiment, and brought into relief by the dark tones of the landscape in the background.

The head of the angel holding the Child is painted with a rare delicacy and charm. It recalls Leonardo, and is one of the most perfect little heads Gaudenzio ever did.

Equal to this panel in interest and beauty is the one to the left representing St. Catherine and St. Barbara. The sweet gravity of expression, the delicate beauty of form and feature, the grace and refinement in every line, the exquisite colour, the strength and excellence of the painting—all combine to make this panel a very perfect creation.

The panel to the right is also of great interest, as it contains the portrait of a kneeling woman, possibly the donor. Though the name Borromeo does not occur in the contract, the chapel in which the ancona stands belongs to the Borromean family, and tradition believes this figure to represent a lady of that house. As in all portraits of that time, the strong features are faithfully depicted, and as she kneels there, an imposing figure in her rich velvet gown, a gold chain round her neck, and everything handsome about her, she hardly seems to need the assistance of the wistful-eyed saints behind her.

The two panels above representing four saints recall again the influence of Borgognone, which, no doubt,

had been revived and strengthened by the sight of a fine picture by that master which hangs in the neighbouring Church of the SS. Martiri. The figures of St. George and St. Martin might almost have stepped out of the groups of youthful martyrs represented in that work but for the freer technique, while the softer expression and the golden hair are typical of Gaudenzio.

The lunette of the Almighty, blessing with one hand, and holding the globe in the other, surrounded by angels and cherubs, is a composition often introduced in the upper part of altar-pieces by Lombard artists of this period.

The predella panels have been ruined by repainting. It has been pointed out that the predellas by the later masters were generally lightly sketched in.* Gaudenzio generally paints his predellas in chiaroscuro, and we know from the Novara ancona with what daintiness and vivacity.

But except for the predella this ancona is the most perfect production belonging to his first period, before he developed his larger manner, and while the dainty framing of the old-fashioned anconas still necessitated a care and minuteness of finish, which were unsuitable for larger effects.

Gaudenzio also painted a "Nativity" in fresco for this church, which has disappeared. It was an early work and done about this time.

We have no documents belonging to 1512, but in the sacristy of the Church of San Alessandro della Croce at Bergamo are four panels representing St. Jerome and three Dominican saints, which approach the Arona

* Dr. J. P. Richter.

Taramelli photo *Sant' Alessandro della Croce, Bergamo*

ST. JEROME READING

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Alinari photo

THE ANNUNCIATION

Lady Layard, Venice

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ancona closely in drawing and technique. They possess the same beauty of execution and distinction of sentiment, while the figure of St. Jerome is practically a replica of the one in that masterpiece. They evidently formed part of an ancona executed for the Dominicans, and it is believed they came from the suppressed Church of St. Thomas at Bergamo, though nothing is definitely known.*

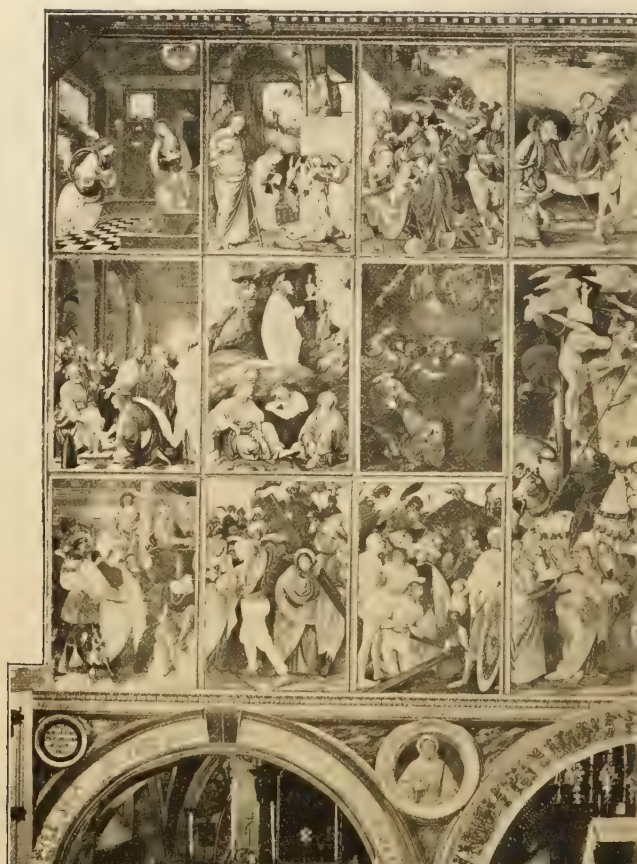
* Professor Elia Fornoni, of Bergamo, says that most of the pictures and furniture of the suppressed Church of St. Thomas were given to the Church of San Alessandro della Croce, and that probably these panels were among them.

CHAPTER IV

1511 TO 1513

GAUDENZIO'S anxiety to have matters settled at Arona in the summer of 1511 was no doubt owing, not only to stress of work already on hand, but probably still more to the work he had in prospect for the future. The idea of decorating the centre wall of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Varallo was no doubt already under discussion. Though we have no documents relative to this vast piece of work, it was finished in 1513, and Gaudenzio could hardly have taken less than a year or eighteen months over it.

The origin of the peculiar construction of this church is worth recording. An ancient chapel originally stood on a spot near which the path begins to ascend to the Sacro Monte. When the Franciscan monk Bernardino Caini, fixed upon this mountain as a suitable site for the chapels of a New Jerusalem, the Vicinanza or Commune of Varallo promised him, about 1480, to erect a convent for the Minorites close by. Marco Scarogini, a pious Milanese noble, and an ardent supporter of Bernardino Caini, had already erected another chapel close to the first one. His epitaph (now in the church) tells us this chapel was dedicated to Santa Maria



Alinari photo

FRESCOES REPRESENTING TWENTY-C

Santa Maria delle Grazie, Varallo

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF OUR LORD

To face p. 42

Immaculata, and that he died on March 14, 1486. The construction of the convent began in 1487, and it was finished in 1493. Both the existing chapels were enclosed in the convent church, and form part of a screen made by throwing a wall across the building. In Bramantino's sketch-book in the Ambrosiana Library there are several designs for thus dividing churches belonging to the monastic Orders. In some the far side of the wall is entirely reserved for the monks; in others, as in this church, it stands across the centre of the nave. Bernardino Caini and his monks took possession on April 14, 1493.

The Sacro Monte exercised an immense influence on the people of the Valsesia, and we can imagine the enthusiasm and the pride with which, on his return from Milan, the young Gaudenzio had plied his brush in the service of the Franciscans. Later on the monks seem to have turned their attention to the decoration of their convent and church, and the frescoes in the chapel now dedicated to St. Margaret were the result. Old writers mention two series of frescoes executed by Gaudenzio, representing the lives of St. Catherine and St. Cecilia, which covered the walls of the cloisters; but unfortunately these frescoes have quite disappeared, and there is nothing to show us the gradual development of this branch of Gaudenzio's art during this period. That this improvement was duly noted is probable, for tradition says that the people of Varallo, headed by his relations, the Vincios, invited him to decorate at their expense the vast expanse of wall above the two chapels in the convent church. The space to be covered measured 10·40 metres across, and 8 metres in height,

and the subjects chosen were scenes from the life of Christ.

The first thing which strikes the observer is the extraordinary originality both in the composition and in the colour scheme of this great work. The deep and rather heavy greens, blues, and purples of the Venetian and Umbrian Schools are quite absent. A wide range of tones of creamy whites, grays, and fawns in the draperies and in the architectural and rocky backgrounds give a lightness and a delicacy of tone to the whole wall. Light blues, yellows, browns, pinks, and greens abound, emphasized by touches of a dark rich reddish-brown introduced in the draperies and in the mosaic pavements. Gaudenzio knows how to use darker colours sparingly, but most effectively, ever careful to keep the general tone light. He employs gesso for the armour and trappings, but his love of modelling makes him occasionally exaggerate its use, as in the picture of the Crucifixion, and his happiest results are in the scenes where paint is the only medium used.

In composition we shall see, as we study the screen in detail, that Gaudenzio possessed a most extraordinary fertility of invention, and that, though he may sometimes err on the side of exaggeration, it is the result of his own original genius, and not the vain attempt to reproduce the ideas of others. Sincerity and piety are the chief notes struck, while his dramatic sense gives fire and animation to the scenes depicted.

Gaudenzio divided the wall into twenty-one spaces, arranged in three rows, one scene in the centre, that of the Crucifixion, being four times as large as the others.

Alinari photo *Santa Maria delle Grazie, Varallo*

THE NATIVITY

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The following is a list of subjects chosen :

1. The Annunciation.
2. The Nativity.
3. The Adoration of the Magi.
4. The Flight into Egypt.
5. The Baptism.
6. The Raising of Lazarus.
7. The Entry into Jerusalem.
8. The Last Supper.
9. Christ washing the Feet of the Disciples.
10. The Agony in the Garden.
11. The Betrayal.
12. Christ before Herod.
13. Christ before Pilate.
14. The Flagellation.
15. Pilate washing his Hands.
16. The Journey to Calvary.
17. The Arrival at Calvary.
18. The Crucifixion.
19. The Deposition.
20. The Descent into Hades.
21. Christ rising from the Tomb.

Above in the angle of the roof are two "putti" supporting a "tondo" representing the prophet Isaiah. He holds a scroll on which is inscribed in Gothic lettering the following words, "Traditu · i · morte · aia · tuam · Esaia 53."

Below are four tondi. The two centre ones represent St. Francis and San Bernardino da Siena, while the others bear inscriptions. On the one to the left is written, "1513. Gaudentius Ferraius Vallido Siccide

Pinxit"; while on the one to the right we read, "Hoc Opus Impensis Popli Varali AD $\frac{I}{X}$ Gloriam."

Unfortunately for the perfection of this great work, Gaudenzio has obviously left a good deal of the execution to assistants, as we shall see as we examine it in detail.

No. 1, "The Annunciation," is among the least interesting of the compositions; for though the rush and fervour of the angel and the gentle dignity of the Virgin are well expressed, the execution is coarse and rough. The general tone of the colouring is light and harmonious, and the squares of dark-red mosaic have a pleasing effect.

No. 2, "The Nativity," is a charming composition and well executed. The Madonna has a very lovely face. She kneels to the left wrapped in a pale-blue mantle, while the tall figure of St. Joseph in a warm yellow cloak stands beside her. Two charming angels singing from a book stand above the Child, who lies on the ground sucking His finger as He looks up at His parents. The delicate creamy and pinkish robes of the angels compose well with the gray wall behind them, while the shadow of a rocky arch in the background throws into relief the rest of the group. In the distance we see an angel announcing to a shepherd the glad tidings of great joy.

No. 3, "The Adoration of the Magi," is not so satisfactory a production. The composition is confused and complicated. The Madonna and Child are seated outside a doorway to the left. Her charming face recalls the Umbrian type. Two of the kings are bending before them; the third, the Ethiopian, is standing

Alinari photo *Santa Maria delle Grazie, Varallo*

THE RAISING OF LAZARUS

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to the right, having his spurs removed. Horses and servants complete the group, while in the background are woods and fields. The colouring of this picture is too monotonous in strength of tone, but some of the detail is good, notably the head and attitude of the kneeling king, which are particularly fine and dignified.

No. 4, "The Flight into Egypt," is full of action, but is, unfortunately, marred by bad drawing and rough execution. The chiaroscuro is good, a dark wood in the background showing up the figures effectively, while a distant mountain peak accentuates the wildness and loneliness of the scene.

No. 5, "The Baptism," is more carefully executed than the last scene, and repays examination. Our Lord and St. John are painted in delicate and subdued flesh tints, and the brown folds of St. John's cloak are well drawn. Two angels to the right, in green, white, and yellow robes, harmonize well with the general scheme of colour. In the background we have the valley of a mountain stream. The sloping fields and clumps of trees are painted in delicate greens, and the rocky mass just behind the principal figures is admirably treated. Gaudenzio's rocks are obviously done from careful studies of Nature, and these rocks in colour and in drawing recall the bed of the Sesia above Varallo.

No. 6, "The Raising of Lazarus." This is one of the most sympathetic representations of this subject in Italian art. Though faults of technique undoubtedly exist, it is instinct with so spiritual an atmosphere that the faults and failings become secondary matters. The beautiful head of Christ and the nobility of attitude

and gesture are so fine, and the expressions of the other faces so true in sentiment, that the shortcomings and the exaggerations have no power to injure our enjoyment of this picture. In the background are sundry figures, whose actions express wonder and amazement as Lazarus emerges from the tomb. Pale and wan, his look of adoration and worship is fixed on the Redeemer, while Martha and Mary throw themselves at Christ's feet in a rapture of thankfulness and awe.

These two figures throw a light on Gaudenzio's conception of their respective spheres of action. Martha wears a nun's head-dress and is severely robed in dark green, and is perhaps representative of the life of graver cares, while Mary, with her fair hair streaming over her pale-blue dress and yellow and pink mantle, possibly represents the gay world and its allurements.

No. 7, "The Entry into Jerusalem." Though the centre figure in this scene stands out well, the general impression is unsatisfactory. The composition is confused, and the audacity of foreshortening here leads Gaudenzio astray. The figure of the youth in green doublet and white stockings, strewing branches in the right-hand corner, is grotesque and unpleasing. At the same time, some of the details in the background are good. The man helping a youth up a tree is realistically drawn, while another youth raising his hand to catch the branches is very well depicted.

No. 8, "The Last Supper." This is the earliest existing representation of this subject painted by Gaudenzio. The composition is in accordance with the Byzantine tradition,* and a cartoon of this subject of a

* See p. 34.

Alinari photo *Santa Maria delle Grazie, Varallo*

CHRIST BEFORE HEROD

To face p. 48

later date, now in the Albertina Library at Turin, shows that Gaudenzio never departed from it. This scene is carefully painted, and the light and dark coloured marbles of the walls and benches are well rendered. The heads of the Apostles are full of expression. The one in the foreground turning to the left is a specially fine and dignified type. The graceful figure of a page pouring water into a basin and standing on a raised platform relieves the monotony of the background, while an open doorway with a vista of sky and hills gives a sense of lightness and space.

No. 9, "Christ washing the Feet of the Disciples." The composition, colour, and execution of this scene are admirable. Standing in a vast hall, the puzzled but interested group of disciples gather round the centre figures. St. Peter, in a gray robe and yellow cloak, is seated to the left in an easy and natural attitude, but the pucker on his forehead shows the bewilderment of his mind. The kneeling figure of Christ is full of grace and dignity. Robed in red, with a white towel thrown over His shoulder, He bends over the Apostle's feet. The dark-brown robe of a disciple in the background brings his fine and delicate features into relief. These two figures are finished with much care and precision of detail. The fine architectural background gives dignity to the scene.

No. 10, "The Agony in the Garden." As we approach the crisis of the great tragedy the intensity of feeling grows more acute. The conflict shown in the drawn, agonized face of this white-robed figure is wonderfully depicted. The sharp rocks in the background add an atmosphere of sternness and severity to

the scene. The angel presenting the chalice is the least satisfactory of the figures, but the group of the disciples asleep is carefully executed.

No. 11, "The Betrayal." This is one of the most dramatic and original of the series, and I doubt if a more realistic representation of this scene existed at that period. The blackness of night lit up by artificial light had rarely been successfully treated before, and Gaudenzio seized the opportunity for novel chiaroscuro effects. The light from the burning braziers falls direct on Christ, who is embracing Judas, while the soldiers, emerging from the darkness, seize Him with rough brutality. St. Peter, to the left, is smiting down a soldier, and the swift action of his arm is most remarkable. To the right stands a Roman soldier, the brim of his helmet casting the upper part of the face into shadow with a quite Rembrandtesque effect. In contrast to the agitated group in the foreground, we have in the distance the outline of the quiet fields, and in the sky the faintest glimmer of the coming dawn.

Though much of this fresco is marred by coarse execution and bad drawing, it is an interesting experiment in a new line of artistic achievement. A good deal of gesso is used both in this picture and in the next.

No. 12, "Christ before Herod," is a finely painted scene with rich detail. The carpet on Herod's throne, and the tapestry studded with flowers and leaves in the background, are very decorative. Gesso is used lavishly in the trappings and armour of the soldiers, one of whom, standing in an almost Mantegnesque

Alinari photo *Santa Maria delle Grazie, Varallo*

CHRIST BEFORE PILATE

To face p. 50

pose, with his back to the spectator, looks on placidly while certain of the group menace the Redeemer. The figure of Christ is full of gentle dignity as He looks towards Herod. The head of the soldier seizing Him from the back recalls a drawing by Leonardo. The colouring of this picture is rich and strong.

No. 13, "Christ before Pilate." This scene and the next are the most interesting in the series, not only for the scheme of colouring, but also for their great originality. A tall figure to the right in black and yellow tights argues with Pilate, marking his arguments with his fingers in a most decisive manner. The stately form of Pilate stands in the centre wrapped in a splendid rich brown coat lined with fur, while his silver hair flows from under a turbaned head-dress. He turns and faces the soldier, and his face wears an angry, puzzled expression as he strives to save Christ from the clamouring mob. In the background is the entrance to his palace, a fine classic portal, with the words "PALACIVM · PILATI" inscribed in Roman lettering on the lintel. Above is a lunette containing statuary representing the Laocoön. This has been held as another proof that Gaudenzio had been to Rome, but I do not think it is a proof either way. The discovery of this famous piece of sculpture had made a great stir in artistic circles, but the Renaissance artists had an intense reverence for classic art, and when they reproduce any well-known statue in their works, they represent it accurately. I think that if Gaudenzio had seen and drawn the Laocoön for himself we should have an exact copy of it, and that the subject of our present study was done from a description.

No. 14, "The Flagellation," is of equal interest to No. 13. The great beauty of this scene lies in the perfect harmony of low tones in which it is painted. Grays and whites predominate, picked out and emphasized by the red and black patches of the mosaic pavement, while the touch of rich brown given by Pilate's dark-robed figure in the background has a particularly happy effect. The modelling of the figures and the swing of the bodies are excellent, and the feeling for space, distance, and movement admirable. There is an architectural sketch attributed to Zenale in the British Museum which represents a very similar loggia supported by dainty columns, which may have indirectly inspired Gaudenzio in this fresco.

No. 15, "Pilate washing his Hands." This scene is very unequal. It has some good detail, but the composition is spoilt by the exaggerated figure of a straddling warrior, who dominates the foreground to the detraction of the general effect. To the right, in the background, Pilate is seated on his throne, while a youth pours water over his hands. His fine, grave face looks thoughtfully at Christ, whose head is turned towards him. On the hem of the red robe worn by the Redeemer is inscribed in gold the words SALVAT · MON. The rest of the lettering is illegible or hidden by the white cloak.

A curious figure of a youth asleep, to the right, shows Gaudenzio's love for strange and fanciful effects. This fair-haired page, bored with the turmoil going on, has fallen asleep on the steps of the throne. His green doublet and tights, white shirt and gold chain in gesso, give a bright note of colour, while, standing close to

Alinari photo *Santa Maria delle Grazie, Varallo*

THE FLAGELLATION

To face p. 52

Pilate, another page in gaily slashed attire makes also a curious contrast to the grim reality of the scene.

No. 16, "The Journey to Calvary." This scene is well rendered. The Roman officer in the background is ordering the soldiers to keep back the crowd, in the foremost rank of which we see the Virgin and St. John. The Virgin is a type we shall find constantly during the next few years in Gaudenzio's representations of the "Pietà," notably in a fine picture belonging to Signor Crespi at Milan.* We shall also find the peak-like arrangement of the cloak over the head. The hands and the expression of the face are beautifully rendered, while the action of the executioner driving her back is realistically painted. These are the two best figures in the group. On the face of the Redeemer the distress of exhausted nature is apparent as He is led along by another executioner, whose coarse face is rendered still more repulsive by his goitred neck. The colouring is light and pleasing, and the figures in the foreground stand out well from the rest of the procession, which emerges from a large classic gateway in the background, to the left.

No. 17, "The Arrival at Calvary," has many interesting touches. To the left stand the two thieves with bound hands, while in front of them kneels the Redeemer in prayer over the cross, on to which a little child has innocently strayed. Its mother, standing behind, draws it back with her hand. She has a beautiful face, and wears a picturesque head-dress of plaited linen, which adds to the dignity of her appearance. The cross stands out against her white cloak,

* See p. 68.

while the dark brown of her dress brings the face of Christ into relief. The child is attracted by the soldier to the right, who holds a large gesso ornamented shield, on which is inscribed SENATVS · POPVLVS · QVE · ROMANI ·, and the beginning of another sentence, VOSTN. His expression of bored indifference as he stands keeping order is naturally depicted. In the background a troop of horsemen crowd round and keep back the people.

No. 18, "The Crucifixion." Gaudenzio justly considered that this scene required more space than the others. It is four times the size of the other panels, but he has taken care that the proportions of the figures should harmonize with the rest of the screen.

This crowded scene is full of incidents. Though it is far removed from the quiet atmosphere of the Umbrian School, it holds its own by the sincere and the intense feeling which animates it, and the strong dramatic qualities give movement and life to every figure depicted.

In the foreground, to the left, is a group of women supporting the fainting Virgin. The faces and draperies are beautifully rendered. To the right are the soldiers casting lots. The foreshortening of the one leaning over in the centre is admirable, though the excessive use of gesso makes him come almost too far out of the picture. Behind them is a charming group of women with children looking on, and tradition says that the two figures in pilgrim dress in the centre are portraits. The one to the right is said to be Pellegrino da Modena, and the one in the centre, being fawned on by a fine white dog of the collie type, is believed to

represent Gaudenzio himself. Roman horsemen circulate round the base of the crosses. The action of Longinus on a white charger richly caparisoned is well depicted, but the gesso is again too heavily applied, and brings him too much into the foreground.

The upper part of the picture looks confused, owing partly to overcrowding and partly to the voluminous folds of the angels' robes, who, eight in number, hover round the centre cross. They have not yet attained the beauty of either movement or expression which we shall find in Gaudenzio's later work. In the distance we see Jerusalem, represented with many fine Renaissance towers and domes.

No. 19, "The Deposition." This scene is fairly well carried out, and the composition is interesting, as being very similar with that of a fine picture of this subject painted by Gaudenzio at a later date, and now in the Gallery at Turin.* The colouring is bright, and one or two of the heads are finely rendered; but part of the execution was left to assistants, and the general effect of the picture is crude and unsatisfactory.

No. 20, "The Descent into Hades." This is another experiment in chiaroscuro. The light in this fresco radiates from the figure of the Redeemer, who, wrapped in a gray cloak and carrying a gray banner, bends forward to draw Eve forth over the fallen door. Two fine figures of prophets stand on the right, and on the left is the penitent thief holding up the cross, while demons and hobgoblins hover round, striving to bar the way. Unfortunately, the gesso has blackened with time, and looks more like prickles than rays of light; but the

* See p. 87.

general scheme of light and shade is good, and the impression of the dark limitless cavern well given.

No. 21, "Christ rising from the Tomb." The surface of this fresco is much injured. The figure of Christ, though full of movement, is not well executed. The general tone of the colouring is pale. The startled soldier to the left, who raises his shield in haste, is fairly good, but the others are grotesquely rendered and very badly drawn. This fresco is the least satisfactory of the series.

CHAPTER V

1513 TO 1520

THE screen in the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Varallo practically ends the first period of Gaudenzio's career. His fame is now well established, and during the next twelve or fourteen years we shall find him hard at work in various parts of the duchy of Milan. He seems to have been chiefly engaged in the designing and the execution of large and elaborate altar-pieces, some of which were carried out in carving and painting, while others were only in carving and gilding.

Though the design of the great altar-piece in the Chapel of Sant' Abbondio in the Cathedral of Como has never been attributed to him, the spirit that animates it is undoubtedly his. The little figures on the summit are obviously reproduced from his models, and resemble, not only the terra-cotta "putti" in the Chapel of the Shepherds on the Sacro Monte, but also those on the altar-pieces at Rocca Pietra* and at Morbegno.† Very similar also are the five minutely carved scenes in the lower part of this work to those at Morbegno, while both in the attitudes of the figures and in the architectural backgrounds there is much that recalls the big screen at Varallo. The first mention of a date (which refers to a payment) of the Sant'

* See p. 58. † See p. 75.

Abbondio altar-piece is 1514, and proves that the carver had already set to work, and Gaudenzio had probably made the design soon after he finished his great work in Santa Maria delle Grazie.

We do not know the name of the carver who executed the Como altar-piece. Don Santo Monti believes him to have been one of the Passeri, a family of carvers, gilders, and painters from Torno, as similar work by a certain Andrea Passeri exists in the Lake districts. Whoever he was, the carvings show him to have been an excellent craftsman, and he may have designed those figures which are not characteristic of Gaudenzio's art. There are distinctly two minds at work in this altar-piece, though the master-spirit is undoubtedly the Valsesian.*

This work in the Duomo at Como is of special interest as being probably the occasion when Gaudenzio renewed his intercourse with Luini, with results very beneficial to his art. Luini painted one of his finest altar-pieces for the neighbouring Chapel of St. Jerome probably about this time, as it is in his "maniera grigia." The screen for the altar-piece of the Sant' Abbondio Chapel was the combined work of both artists, and though it was executed at a later date, it was probably arranged for now. I have dealt elsewhere on the influence of Luini on Gaudenzio,† and we shall notice a gradual improvement in the modelling and in the proportions of the figures in the work of the latter artist, while some of his heads become quite Luinesque.

Another interesting work is in the Church of San Martino, in the village of Rocca Pietra, about two

* The predella was added later.

† See p. 26.

Marcozzi photo *Signor Vittadini, Arcovre*

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ANGELS

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miles from Varallo. This ancona was renovated and altered during the seventeenth century, and some of the panels were removed, but, fortunately, the upper half, with its daintily carved statuettes, was left intact. It is in the form of a temple carved and gilded, and the remaining panels represent the following subjects: Above in the centre are small half-figures of Christ rising from the tomb, and two guards. To the right and left are panels representing the Annunciation. Below, to the right, are San Gaudenzio and St. John the Baptist, and to the left Sant' Ambrogio and St. Martin in Bishop's robes. The carved figures in the lower part belong to a later time, and probably date from the period the alterations were made. A "Madonna and Child" belonging to Signor Vittadini at Arcorre is believed to have been originally here, as the dimensions correspond with the centre space, now filled by a carved figure of Christ holding a cross. This is quite possible, as the technique shows that it was painted about this time, while the composition is identical with that of the Madonna in the lower part of the Novara altar-piece. Signor Vittadini believes his picture to have been painted the first, as the treatment is a trifle more dry and "serré"; but when we compare the other panels with the Novara work, there is no apparent difference in the technique. The Vittadini "Madonna" is seated on a stone bench. A fine carpet at her feet recalls the one in "Christ before Herod" at Varallo. Her expression is sweet and gentle, and there is a marked improvement in the anatomy, especially in the modelling of the hands and in the infant Christ. On each side are angels worshipping, and the proportions remind

us of a picture by Borgognone at Cremia, on the Lake of Como.

Two other panels, now in the Library at Novara, may also have belonged to the Rocca Pietra ancona. The dimensions make it possible, and the technique shows that they were painted about this time. They represent angels adoring. The colouring of the wings is marvellously brilliant and glowing, while the swiftness of movement and the rapture of devotion are beautifully felt.

The Rocca Pietra ancona has much in common with the next great work which we shall examine, namely, the altar-piece in the Church of San Gaudenzio at Novara. In the contract, which was signed on July 20, 1514, there are many stipulations for statuettes, delicate carving, and fine colouring. We find from this document that Gaudenzio had submitted a model of the proposed altar-piece to the Canons of the basilica before they commissioned the work, and every detail was settled in advance. Gaudenzio was to design a frame in "good and excellent wood and three figures in wood to be placed on the top of the said frame, and that the said frame was to be made with subtle and excellent detail-work by the hand of an excellent carver, according to the model given to the said Canons by the said Maestro Gaudenzio, and better still. He was also to paint the bottom of the frame with scenes from the history of San Gaudenzio, and in all the ancona there were to be at least thirteen large figures as in the model, and it was to be painted with very fine ultramarine blue, and other very fine colours and fine gold, in oil, and that Maestro Gaudenzio alone

Alinari photo *San Gaudenzio, Novara*

ANCONA

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was to do the figures, and that no pupil was in any way to help in the execution of the ancona. That Maestro Gaudenzio was to finish the ancona in eighteen months' time, and to put it in its place with its case painted in blue, with gold stars, and that both within and without the said case was to be painted in a manner suitable to the ancona. That if the eighteen months passed and the work was not finished, the Canons might have it finished by a capable maestro, at the expense of the said Maestro Gaudenzio. Also that if, within a year of the time it was finished, any cracks appeared or any colour fell, the said Maestro Gaudenzio was to repair it at his own expense, and for this he was to give 'caution money' consigned to the town of Novara."

Gaudenzio was also to paint a canvas with a suitable subject to place before the ancona. He was to receive 1,250 livres imperiales, to be paid in instalments; and we find the same conditions as to an expert valuing the work when completed as we found in the Arona contract.

It is rather amusing to find that, after protecting themselves with the above conditions, the Canons themselves seemed unable to keep to the contract. Gaudenzio had great difficulty in getting his money. He deputed a certain Sperandio, an artist of Novara, to receive it for him, and the entries made by the latter show that it took over five years to collect it. In the end Gaudenzio received 1,350 livres imperiales, more than the sum stipulated, while the Synod of Novara pronounces the following eulogy on him: "Gaudentius noster in iis plurimum laudetur opere quidem eximis sed magis eximie pius."

We learn from the contract that, when complete, this ancona was contained in a painted casing or outer frame, and covered by a screen probably attached by a hinge to the outer frame. It was made for the old Basilica of San Gaudenzio, which stood outside the walls of Novara. In the seventeenth century the Spaniards strengthened the fortifications of the town, and pulled down all buildings within a certain distance of the walls, and amongst them the old church. The pictures and furniture belonging to it were moved into the present Church of San Gaudenzio, which had been recently built. This ancona suffered considerably in the move. The outer casing was probably left behind, the painted screen has disappeared, while to fit it into its present place the top of the frame with the carved statuettes was cut off. But though shorn of these accessories, for beauty of colour, design, and execution, it must take a high place amongst Gaudenzio's works. Though a trace of the Borgognone influence may still be felt in the figures of the saints, Gaudenzio has completely developed his own types and his own ideas of composition.

The ancona is divided into two rows. In the centre of the upper one is the "Nativity," with the "Annunciation" on each side in two panels. In the centre of the lower row we find the Madonna and Child seated on a rocky bank, surrounded by saints, while above flying angels hold back draperies. It is not easy to give names to all the group, but the two saints in Bishop's robes represent Sant' Ambrogio and San Gaudenzio. On the panel to the right are St. Paul and Sant' Agabio,*

* One authority calls him Sant' Adalcizio.

while to the left we find St. Peter and St. John the Baptist. On the predella below are the four Fathers of the Church and scenes from the life of San Gaudenzio. They are painted in chiaroscuro and are worth studying, not only for the slight, rapid, and lively brush work, but also for the delicacy and fancy with which these little scenes are depicted.

In the upper part of this altar-piece the Madonna is represented with soft golden hair falling in a cloud round her face. Her hands are crossed on her breast, and we may note the complete change in the type of the hand, which is now depicted with far less refinement, but more realism. Her dress is a rich carmine colour, which is also used for St. Paul's cloak, while the gorgeous robes of the Bishops and Gaudenzio's favourite yellows and browns, introduced in various places, all combine to keep the tone bright and harmonious. The faces are delicately painted and full of feeling; the heads of the two Bishops and the saint in the red biretta are particularly good. The whole of the detail is carefully executed, and the general effect of the altar-piece is rich and glowing. It is a fine example of this period in Gaudenzio's career, when his colouring was of a quite remarkable brilliancy, and while it is still combined with a careful precision in the technique. This period lasted about ten years, during which time the best of his panel pictures were produced.

Gaudenzio did other work for this church. We know of a terra-cotta figure of Christ crucified, with the Magdalen painted in fresco kneeling at His feet; also of a picture of the Madonna and St. Anna, with the donor, who was one of the Regular Canons. This

picture and the fresco have disappeared, but the "Christ crucified" was moved into the new Church of San Gaudenzio, and now hangs nearly opposite to the ancona we have just been studying. The figure is well modelled with painful realism, but to the modern mind there is something distasteful in the use of real hair, which gives an element of banality, and almost nullifies the very real and intense feeling which pervades the work. We find this mixture of mediums in some of the figures on the Sacro Monte, and it is a fit example of that extraordinary decline of artistic feeling which took place in Italy during the sixteenth century.

A picture which recalls the Novara altar-piece is a fragment of an "Annunciation" representing the angel Gabriel, now in the museum at Varallo. It was originally in the old church on the Sacro Monte, and the other half, representing the Virgin, was destroyed when that church was pulled down to make room for the present edifice. This angel is practically a replica of, and the swirling draperies almost identical with, the Novara work. It was possibly painted a year or two later, as there are touches of gold in the embroidered hem of the robe and in the hair.

The composition of a lunette over the door of the Chapel of Santa Maria di Loreto outside Varallo is also reminiscent of the Novara work. It represents a Holy Family, and, though injured by exposure, it has great merit. Being in fresco, it is not so carefully finished, but the brush work is good and strong and the faces full of charm. The usual reds, yellows, and greens are used in the colouring of the draperies.

A series of frescoes exist in the Church of San Giulio

Hanfstängl photo *Berlin Gallery*

THE ANNUNCIATION

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on the Island of San Giulio, on the Lake of Orta. They are completely ruined by damp and restoration. Judging from the action of the figures, I believe those on the side-walls and arches were painted not long after the Chapel of St. Margaret at Varallo, but all trace of Gaudenzio's brush is hidden under modern paint. In the vaulting are the four Evangelists, and on the arches are "tondi" representing characters from the Old Testament. Below on one side are San Fermo and Santa Apollonia, and on the wall opposite are Sant' Ambrogio and St. Benedict.

The fresco over the altar has nearly disappeared, but enough remains to show it represents the Madonna and Child, with St. Joseph and St. Roch to the right, and to the left St. Sebastian and St. Peter. The last-named is protecting the kneeling figure of a fair-haired boy. In the lunette above is the martyrdom of St. Stephen. The type of the Madonna shows that this wall was painted some years later than the rest, and this fact, combined with the presence of saints especially invoked against the plague, gives some clue to its approximate date, as there was a specially bad visitation through the North of Italy in 1516 and 1517.

The picture in the sacristy is not by Gaudenzio, but recalls the work of his follower, Cesare Cesarini, a very inferior Lombard artist, and done much later in the century.

I have mentioned elsewhere the influence of the Court of Pavia, where Leonardo was living during the winter of 1515 and 1516. Certain pictures exist whose technique and colouring show that they were painted

about the time of the Novara ancona. One of the most important is the "Last Supper" now in the sacristy of the Cathedral of Novara. Nothing is known of the origin of this interesting work, which is, unfortunately, skied and difficult to study under its present conditions. Characteristics of both the Paduan and Florentine Schools are found in the composition of this picture. The scene takes place in the courtyard of a massive building, possibly the Castello at Pavia, as soldiers are depicted on guard at the entrance, and on one side we see standing the solitary column so often found in pictures influenced by the Paduan School, while the said influence is still further shown in the group of carved children playing round the base. In the figures in the foreground, however, in spite of the Byzantine grouping, we are forcibly reminded of Leonardo da Vinci. It is like the flash of a likeness seen for a moment on a strange face. Certain of the heads recall his drawings, but it is in the movement and in the chiaroscuro that his influence is especially noticeable. Gaudenzio here aims at that subtle delicacy characteristic of the great Florentine's work, and, though falling short of his model, his treatment of lights and shades, and the refinement of the modelling in the half-tones, show a great advance on his previous work.

Another trace of Florentine influence at this period of Gaudenzio's career is found in the fact that this picture was originally in the form of a "tondo," and is the only known instance of his painting this form of picture. It was cut down to fit into the panelling of the sacristy in the seventeenth century. The colouring is very beautiful, rich, and vivid, and in spite of the

Alinari photo *Cathedral, Como*

THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN

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Brogi photo *Brera, Milan*

THE MADONNA AND CHILD

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injuries it has suffered, this "Last Supper" is the finest existing picture of this subject painted by Gaudenzio. The youth to the left with flaxen ringlets is a type we find in some of his later works.

But other and less subtle influences are also at work at this time. Gaudenzio clothes his figures in rich brocades and jewel-bedecked raiment, and gold is used occasionally in the high lights. We find this treatment in some of Defendente di Ferrari's works, and also in Macrino d' Alba's paintings at Pavia; but we have not seen it before, nor do we find it at a later period in Gaudenzio's works. The Vittadini "Madonna" we have already studied, and the "Madonna and Child' in the Brera and the "Annunciation" at Berlin are also examples of this treatment. In the last two we find an unpleasant red in the flesh tints, a hot tone which, unfortunately, becomes frequent as time goes on. Very typical of the Milanese School is the wreath of jasmine worn by the angel, recalling heads by Boltraffio and Luini.*

In the Brera "Madonna" the materials are beautifully painted, and the embroidered chemisette recalls those worn by the Fobello peasant-girls in the mountains near Varallo. The modelling of the child is very good, and the drawing of the left leg and foot gives a lively forward movement to the whole body. It is on comparing the careful modelling of these little limbs with that of a picture of the same subject belonging to Signor Crespi at Milan that I am inclined to believe the latter work was not executed by Gaudenzio, but by some one of his school. The accessories of brocades

* St. Catherine, by Luini, in the Hermitage Gallery.

and veils are beautifully executed, but the heavier modelling and the cooler tones, and the types of the Madonna and Child, point to a very fine work of a later date by Lanino.*

In the same gallery is, however, a "Pietà" which may rank among the finest of Gaudenzio's panel pictures. It is in very good preservation. The expression on the faces, and the pathos and elevation of sentiment, are admirably rendered. The depth and brilliancy of the colour, the careful modelling, and the fine lines of the draperies, are superbly painted. The cartoon of this fine work is in the Albertina at Turin.

This "Pietà" has much in common with the one in the ancona in the Church of San Gaudenzio at Varallo, which was probably painted a little earlier.

This ancona consists of six panels. In the centre above is the "Pietà," to the right is St. Mark, and to the left St. John the Baptist. Below, in the centre, is the "Marriage of St. Catherine," to the right St. Peter, and to the left San Gaudenzio. The "Pietà" is simpler in composition than the one we have just been studying, and very beautiful. The chiaroscuro effect is more abrupt, and the head of St. John recalls Luini, and indirectly Leonardo. The action of the Madonna is infinitely touching, and the whole atmosphere has a restraint and dignity which places this panel at a very high level. The group below is not particularly striking, though the Madonna and Child are charmingly rendered, but the panels of the four saints are very good. Unfortunately, when the original frame was replaced by the

* See p. 27.

Anderson photo *Signor Crespi, Milan*

PIETÀ

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Alinari photo *San Gaudenzio, Varallo*

ALTAR-PIECE

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present one during the seventeenth century, the predella was suppressed. A small panel of the "Martyrdom of St. Catherine," in chiaroscuro, now in the museum at Varallo, is said to have belonged to this ancona. Another tradition says that the panels of this predella are in the Palazzo Belgioiosa at Milan, and represent the four Fathers of the Church, the Nativity, the Epiphany, and the Presentation in the Temple.

The screen for the ancona in the Chapel of Sant' Abbondio in the cathedral at Como must have been taken in hand about 1516 or 1517. It originally consisted of six canvases, three by Gaudenzio and three by Luini; but at a later date it was divided, and the "Sposalizio" by Gaudenzio, together with the "Presepio" by Luini, were moved to the opposite side of the church. We will study the "Flight into Egypt" later on,* as it obviously belongs to a later development of Gaudenzio's art. The composition of the "Sposalizio" is good, and there is a fine architectural background representing the interior of the Temple, with steps leading up to the altar. A note of classicism is introduced by the sacrifice depicted on the side of the altar, while above the altar is an inscription I have been unable to decipher. We find a decorative touch in the gold edges of the draperies, which have become almost too voluminous and drown the figures. The centre group is good, while to the right is a fine figure of a woman, obviously a portrait, wearing the turban-like head-dress we so often find in portraits of this period. The suitors breaking their sticks are not so good, the attitude of the one to the left being particu-

* See p. 88.

larly affected and exaggerated. Like all tempera painting on canvas, the colour has sunk in, and it is impossible to judge of the original effect, especially as these particular canvases have been restored several times.

This peculiar treatment of drapery we find in two other works of this period. One is a much-injured panel now in the Poldi Pezzoli Museum at Milan. It represents the Madonna and Child with St. Catherine, St. Margaret, St. Dominic, and St. Peter Martyr. St. Margaret might have stepped out of the "Sposalizio," with her voluminous draperies edged with gold. Being a panel picture, the execution is far more carefully done. The surface is much injured, especially about the centre figures, and the picture has been restored; but some of the heads still preserve the original delicate brush work.*

The other work is in the gallery at Turin, and represents the Crucifixion. It is in tempera on canvas, and was executed later than the foregoing panel. In many ways it is a great advance on the Varallo screen, though the medium used does not allow of any strength of colour, and the execution is slighter. The angels are far better drawn, and, though swathed in draperies, the movements of their aërial flight are drawn with exquisite lightness and delicacy. The stir and animation of the whole scene are depicted with Gaudenzio's usual skill.

In the same gallery is a very fine work belonging to this period, but greatly superior to those we have just

* The "Madonna and Child" in this gallery attributed to Gaudenzio is by Lanino.

Anderson photo *Turin Gallery*

ST. PETER AND A KNEELING FIGURE

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Marcozzi photo *Berenson Museum, Milan*

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

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been studying. It represents St. Peter and a donor, and was obviously the right wing of a triptych. Nothing is known of the origin of this picture, which for beauty of colour and execution is one of the most perfect of Gaudenzio's works. The composition recalls forcibly the Borgognone in the Louvre, and the background of blue sky reminds us of the Layard "Annunciation." Though the figures are life-size, the details are executed in a most minute and careful manner. The realism of the portrait impresses us with a sense of accuracy in the representation. Every detail of this fine head is faithfully depicted, and we see a proof of this in the curiously long pointed lobe of the ear. Gaudenzio usually draws the ear with a rounded lobe. The colouring is particularly pleasing. St. Peter's green dress and yellow mantle make a good background to the fine white-haired prelate as he kneels in a beautiful dark-red brocade gown, edged with black and with full black sleeves dotted with gold. St. Peter's keys are painted in gold, but raised gesso is not used.

The altar-piece in the Church of the Pietà at Canobbio, on the Lake Maggiore, also belongs to this period, as it was painted before 1520. In a document relative to the alterations made to the church in that year, there is a special note that care must be taken not to injure the "venustissime" (most beautiful) picture over the altar. It was probably painted about 1517, as some of the hands show a lingering trace of Gaudenzio's earliest types. In the composition the converging lines of arms and weapons centre towards the figure of Christ, whose look is fixed on the fainting Virgin to the

left, while in the chiaroscuro the strong lights are so treated that, in spite of the confusion of the crowd, the attention of the spectator is at once riveted on this pathetic incident. Gaudenzio rarely painted anything finer than this head of the Redeemer, and the expression of pain and anxiety are wonderfully rendered. The dramatic quality in this "Journey to Calvary," the beautiful colouring and the excellence of the technique, all combine to make it an important work; but it is, unfortunately, in a rather bad condition. In its original state the painting was so vivid and lifelike that Lomazzo speaks of a dog attacking the amiable-looking cur seated in the right-hand corner. In the trappings of the horses Gaudenzio uses gesso, a rare occurrence in his *panel* pictures, and it is also used for a small gilded "Pietà" in the centre of the predella. To the right and left of this "Pietà" are represented angels adoring, charming little figures painted with great refinement.

In the Borromeo Gallery at Milan is a "Madonna and Child with St. Joseph and St. Antony." Though neither so strong nor so brilliant in colouring as the last picture, the types show that it belongs to this period, probably about 1518. The figures are nearly life-size, and the Madonna and Child are well composed. There is a charming touch of nature in the way the little child nestles against its mother and clutches at her dress. We see for the first time the orchard background, which we shall constantly find in later works.

In the museum at Varallo is a picture representing St. Francis receiving the stigmata. It was probably executed before 1520, and tradition says it was painted

Alinari photo *Church of the Pietà Canobbio*

THE JOURNEY TO CALVARY

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for Don Antonio de Leyva when Governor of Milan, and that it hung formerly in the old church on the Sacro Monte. It is well composed, and has a very fine background, representing the Apennines and La Verna.

The predella belonging to the Count Castellani at Novara is much injured and retouched. It represents the Nativity, the Adoration, and the Flight into Egypt, and was originally in the parish church of Borgosesia.

Two panels representing St. Maurice and St. John the Baptist are now in the possession of the Faa family at Novara. They were parts of an altar-piece executed for the Tettoni family at Romagnano. These panels are in good preservation, which cannot be said of the six panels now hanging in the parish church of Gattinara, a village across the river from Romagnano. They are also fragments of an altar-piece, of which the two saints at Novara may possibly have formed part, as the technique is similar, but it had already been broken up and scattered by the beginning of last century.*

The panel in the Villa Borromeo on the Isola Bella, representing the Saviour holding a globe, is too feeble in execution to be Gaudenzio's own work, though it is evidently from his atelier.

In the parish church of Fontanèta is a large fresco attributed to Gaudenzio. It represents the Assumption of the Madonna. It is so much injured and blackened by time and repainting, and is also in such a bad light, that it is difficult to study it. Judging, however, from the attitudes and types of the group of Apostles in the lower part of the fresco, it was probably executed by Gaudenzio and his assistants about 1516.

* Bordiga.

In the collection of Mr. Willett at Brighton is a "Madonna and Child" attributed to Gaudenzio. It is a charming work full of tender feeling, but, though it has much that reminds us of Gaudenzio, it is difficult to place it among his works. All that can be safely said is that it is a very good picture of the Valsesian School.

H. Burton photo *Church of the Assumption and of St. Lawrence, Mo'bagno*

DETAIL OF THE ANCONA

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CHAPTER VI

1520 TO 1528

BETWEEN 1519 and 1528 Gaudenzio was busy over two important works, which, while differing considerably in size and technique, both combine a mixture of painting and modelling. I refer to the altar-piece in the Church of San Lorenzo e dell' Assunta at Morbegno, and the Chapel of the Crucifixion on the Sacro Monte at Varallo.

We have already noted* that the design for the Morbegno altar-piece was probably made by Gaudenzio early in 1516, for in the Liber Credentiæ of the Compagnia dei Battuti† of Morbegno the contract with the wood-carver was signed on August 18, 1516. He signs himself "Giov. Angelo del Magno di Pavia, nunc habitator Morbenii," and was probably one of a well-known family of sculptors and wood-carvers of Pavia.‡ He must have finished his part of the work about 1519, as during that year his name appears in the Liber Credentiæ for the last time. The contract with Gaudenzio and Fermo Stella is missing, but the painting and gilding of the altar-piece was undertaken by these

* See p. 10.

† Founded by San Bernardino of Siena in 1432.

‡ An ancona in the Church of the Carmine at Pavia is signed "Angelo manio opifice, 1517."

two artists for the sum of 2,000 lire. They were paid in instalments, and Gaudenzio seems to have set to work as soon as the carving was finished, as we find his name in the Liber Credentiæ on May 29, 1520, and on October 14, 1521. He then seems to have left it for some time, as his name does not reappear till March 8, 1524, Fermo Stella having signed the receipts of payment during the intervening period. Gaudenzio must then have taken it in hand again, for we find his signature on July 21, 1524, on August 12, on September 7 and 16, and on October 7, 1525, and finally in January, 1526 (the day of the month is illegible).

The altar-piece stands about 19 feet high, and is nearly 10 feet broad. It is a mass of elaborate carving, gilding, and painting. The surface of the wood was prepared with a layer of gesso before the paint and gilt were applied, but it is much cracked, and many of the figures, some of which are only about 8 inches high, are chipped and broken.

The altar-piece is designed so as to frame an old fresco of a Madonna and Child. On each side of this painting are large statues of saints; the one to the right is San Bernardino of Siena, and the one to the left is St. Lawrence, the patron saint of the church. Above in a lunette is God the Father, with cherubs, and on the cornice the figures of the Virgin and the angel Gabriel. On the cupola above is the "Assumption of the Virgin," who stands on the summit surrounded by a "mandorla" of cherubs. A circle of "putti" below are playing on various musical instruments, while still lower down are the Apostles in attitudes of rapture and surprise. All these little figures are obviously carved

from Gaudenzio's models, and all imbued with the vivacity and life characteristic of his work.

But the most interesting of the carvings are the five scenes from the life of the Virgin which are in the lower part of the altar-piece. They represent the Presepio, the Flight into Egypt, Christ and the Doctors, the Sposalizio, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost. We have seen similar work in the Como altar-piece, but there the original colours have disappeared under more recent gilding. Here, in spite of the chipping of the gesso and the damage done to the figures, we are able to see the original effect to a certain extent. The painting of the dresses, the faces, and the architectural backgrounds, is most carefully and daintily executed. Classic scenes and tiny but elaborate "grotteschi" cover the walls of the buildings, and classic ideas are also to be found in the ornamentation of the general design. The perspective is very well carried out in these minute scenes, and a delightful naturalness of gesture and attitude are found in the groups, which are cleverly manipulated. In the "Presepio" a charming touch is given in the action of the little Child pulling at its mother's cloak, demanding to be caressed and not worshipped. The composition of the scene of Christ and the Doctors is distinctly original. Though the perspective is perhaps a trifle abrupt, the feeling for distance and amplitude in this limited space is very cleverly conveyed, while the large curtains caught up in the foreground break the monotonous lines of the chequered ceiling very effectively.

The Chapel of the Crucifixion on the Sacro Monte

at Varallo was erected about 1517, under the direction of Pietro Ravelli and Bernardino Baldi, builders, of Varallo. There are no documents existing relative to Gaudenzio's contract for the frescoes or for the statuary. The date 1523 was found on the wall by Signor Arienta, and the probabilities are that Gaudenzio worked on and off at it for several years, leaving the chapel practically completed when he moved to Vercelli in 1528. The following inscription, "1529 · Die 26 Octobre · Johannes Antonius," also found by Signor Arienta, shows that one of his assistants did not finish his part of the work till the following year.

Owing to the effects of exposure and time, and to the reshifting of many of the statues at a later date, it is a little difficult for us to picture to ourselves this famous chapel in its original condition, or to understand the enthusiasm of Gaudenzio's contemporaries. The frescoes, once brilliant with gorgeous colouring, are now faded, cracked, and ruined, and no longer make a suitable background to the terra-cotta group of figures, which are also much injured. But, as the late Mr. Samuel Butler justly observed, this chapel, "regarded as a single work, conceived and executed by a single artist, who aimed with one intention at the highest points ever attained both by painting and sculpture, and who wielded on a very large scale, in connection with what was then held to be the sublimest and most solemn of conceivable subjects, the fullest range of all the resources available by either, must stand, perhaps, as the most ambitious attempt that has been made in the history of art. . . . As regards the frescoes, the success was as signal as the daring, and

even as regards the sculpture the work cannot be said to have failed."

Though the opinion of Federigo Zucchero is not of much value, it is interesting to find that when he visited Varallo in 1606 he particularly admired this chapel, and speaks of "the spirited genius and powerful manner" of Gaudenzio Ferrari. He mentions the brilliant colouring, and says that the figures seemed really alive, and that the soldiers were casting lots "with jests and acts worthy of such wretches."

The chapel is built in a semicircle, with a column in the centre to support the roof. The surface of the walls is covered with the remains of the frescoes, which represent a vast crowd, numbering about 150 persons. On the ceiling is depicted Lucifer triumphant and a flight of angels, whose attitudes denote awe-struck horror and the acutest despair. Though shrouded in too much drapery, their movements are admirably expressed. They have nearly all the same beautiful type of face, with the high parting of the hair on the forehead, and have suffered less from retouching than the rest of the painting.

We are able to have some idea of the general effect of these frescoes from an old coloured engraving published towards the end of the eighteenth century, of which one copy is in the museum at Varallo, and another is in a private collection in London. From this engraving we can also see more clearly the extraordinary variety of persons depicted, from the nobles with their escorts to the beggars disfigured with goîtres. Some of the soldiers are in armour, but the majority are in gaudy striped raiment, with plumed head-dress.

They are depicted in proud, overbearing attitudes, and carry all kinds of weapons—spears, arquebuses, maces, and swords. One group represents Eastern warriors in Oriental dress, and over their heads float banners with the crescent and the star. In the centre background three nobles on horseback have ladies on the croup behind them. They are all, horses as well, gorgeously arrayed. The noble on the white charger is dressed in a red slashed doublet, with white and blue striped hose, and wears a garter with a fleur-de-lis design. His lady is in red, with white sleeves, and wears a green and yellow turban-shaped head-dress. The trappings of the horse are blue and gold, while a fine piece of tapestry hangs from its back with a beautiful green, dark-blue and gold pattern. The others of the group are equally elaborately and gaudily attired. The general impression of the costumes and plumed head-dresses recalls the Hungarian and South German dress of that period, and makes me believe that Gaudenzio had a new opportunity of making studies from the varied troops of which the army of Charles V. was composed. Milan had revolted from the French in 1521. In 1523 the Emperor's troops were engaged in driving the French out of North Italy, and finally defeated them in 1524 at the Battle of Gattinara, not far from Varallo. It is possible that the noble with the fleur-de-lis garter represents the Constable de Bourbon, who had joined the Emperor in 1523, and was present at that engagement. Tradition says that another of these warriors is the Count Filippo Torinelli of Novara, who was also one of the Emperor's generals. The neighbourhood of the celebrated shrine to the battle-

field makes it probable that the Sacro Monte benefited financially from the gratitude of the victorious army, and it is quite possible that the most important figures depicted in these frescoes are portraits of the chief leaders, which Gaudenzio could have painted in the spring of 1524.

Certain other figures are known to be portraits of members of the Scarognini family of Milan, a family who had always been foremost among the patrons of the Sacro Monte. From an inscription now defaced, but mentioned by old writers, it is known that the two men kneeling over the door to the right are portraits of a certain Emiliano Scarognini and his son Francesco. Emiliano died in 1517, so it is possible that Gaudenzio painted these portraits directly the chapel was built, and placed them over the door, so as to be out of the way of the general design, which he had probably not settled on. The technique is rather more precise and dry than in the rest of the frescoes.

Below, to the right of the door, and by the door on the opposite side of the chapel, are two family groups which must have been charming in their original condition, but which are now much injured. The portraits of the lady and of her two children are too faded for reproduction, but the grace and beauty of this white-robed figure can still be appreciated. She wears the usual turban-shaped head-dress, bound with ribbons and jewels, which lends an added dignity to her aspect. The group opposite of the gentleman and his son is also much ruined. The attitudes of both figures are simple and natural, and this little child, with its flaxen hair and yellow-brown dress, must have been a charm-

ing study. Unfortunately, the features of both have been retouched, with deplorable results, and the photograph brings out the crudeness of the new paint to the detriment of the general effect. In the background are seen the chapels of the Sacro Monte. There are some charming heads of women in the crowd, notably two on the wall to the left, sitting on a bank holding children, one of whom is playing with a dog.

We will now turn to the statuary. The group consists of twenty-six statues, two of which are on horseback. Tradition says that Fermo Stella helped with the modelling of the horses. The original figure of the Redeemer was an old sacred statue, which was stolen in later times. Toinetti mentions that the original figures of the two thieves were carved in wood by the sculptor Alagardi Romano, who records this fact in his "Life."* They were copied from models made by Gaudenzio in clay, and were also stolen in later years.

The most pleasing group left is that of the Madonna supported by two women, and St. John standing near by. Zucchero specially mentions this group, which is well carried out and full of feeling. Unfortunately, the repainting it was subjected to in later years has naturally ruined the delicacy of the surfaces. The group of soldiers gambling is also very good, while the pose of a peasant woman standing close by with her children is excellent, though the little boy at her side is too clumsily modelled. A pug-dog sitting just behind this group is, on the contrary, very well done. The armour of the soldiers is decorated with gesso, and we find "S.P.Q.R." on some of the shields. On one shield is

* I have been unable to find a copy of this book.

a heraldic device, which the late Mr. Samuel Butler believed to be that of Gaudenzio's family. The proofs, however, are not convincing, and Gaudenzio himself never laid claim to noble extraction. Mr. Butler also believed that the two figures standing to the extreme left were portraits of Leonardo da Vinci and Stefano Scotto. This is quite possible as regards the former, and as regards the latter, we have found this head before in Gaudenzio's works, and, as it recurs constantly amongst Leonardo's drawings, it is obviously that of some personage at Milan well known to both artists during the last decade of 1400, who could quite well have been Stefano Scotto.*

As I have already pointed out, the changes wrought by time, exposure, and restoration make it impossible to judge this great work according to its original merits. We can only try and realize the reach of Gaudenzio's aim by ignoring the present unsatisfactory condition of the chapel, and by the knowledge of his work elsewhere and by the help of old engravings we can, to a certain extent, understand the greatness of this high venture, the achievement of which definitely placed Gaudenzio at the head of the Lombard School.

Besides the work at Varallo, Gaudenzio found time in 1526 to decorate the Chapel of San Rocco at Valduggia. This little chapel had been erected in the market-place of his native village as an *ex voto* after the plague in 1516, as the following inscription tells:† "Quod · populus · a · peste · difensori · erigebat · an MDXVI ·

* These figures are now in the Chapel of "Christ shown to the people."

† Colombo.

Gaudentius · Ferrarius · patritius · ex voto · pictura · decorabat." The altar-piece representing the Madonna and Child with St. Francis and St. George has disappeared, and all that remains of the frescoes on the walls are the nearly effaced figures of San Crispino and Sant' Orso.*

In the parish church of San Giorgio at Valduggia Gaudenzio painted a Holy Family, with St. Barbara and a shepherd. Though this fresco is much injured, enough remains to show that it must have been a very fine work, and was probably done about the same date as the Dorchester House picture.

A certain number of panel pictures were also painted during this period. Their rich colouring and matured technique and the types of the Madonna and Child show that they must have been executed after the pictures we have already studied, and before Gaudenzio's visit to Parma, which I should place towards the end of this period and about 1526 or early in 1527.

One of the finest of these pictures is the "Marriage of St. Catherine" in the cathedral at Novara. This beautiful picture is, luckily, in a good state of preservation. The brilliant colouring is rich and glowing, and unmarred by the hot reds which have appeared occasionally in Gaudenzio's work. The figures are painted life-size with all the strength and vigour of his best period. The face of the Madonna is refined and beautiful, with an expression of ineffable sweetness playing over the features, while the grand figure to the left in Bishop's robes of rich gold and red brocade is one of the finest we have from Gaudenzio's brush. It represents

* The third figure was painted in later times.

Alinari photo *Cathedral, Novara*

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

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Sant' Agapito (a local saint), but it was probably painted from some Novarese ecclesiastic, as it possesses all the individuality of a fine portrait. The other figures are not so interesting, though San Gaudenzio, to the left, is good; but the St. Catherine is unsatisfactory, and the St. Joseph, with his thumb in his mouth, is a rather grosser version of the type Gaudenzio usually paints for that saint.

The pose of the Child is obviously done from one of Leonardo's sketches, and is interesting as showing the development of Gaudenzio's attempt to depict the Luini-Leonardo type of bambino. The modelling is now perfect, but the element of exaggeration, rarely quite absent from Gaudenzio's works, is shown in the choice of this frog-like attitude. The reaction from this extreme, however, soon set in, as we shall see in his later works.

The background of this picture is painted with all Gaudenzio's charm and interest. To the right, at the foot of a rocky and wooded hillside, is St. John the Baptist, and to the left, further back in the plan, is the entrance to a town, on the grassy slope outside of which is depicted the martyrdom of St. Stephen. In the distant valley stands a picturesque church.

The rest of the altar-piece was added in later times. The predella painted by Gaudenzio, consisted of charming dancing and playing "putti." These little panels are now in the Galleria Lochis in the picture-gallery at Bergamo. They are four in number, and combine a delicacy of colour with a daintiness and a fairylike grace of movement. As these little figures flit across the grass, it would be hard to find anything less

religious in spirit, or more closely allied to the little people of Northern folk-lore, in the work of the Italian artists of that day.

The present predella was put together about the middle of the last century, when the altar-piece was moved to its present place.* The centre panel is a "Pietà" by Lanino, and is a free adaptation of Gaudenzio's cartoon at Turin. The two side-panels representing the Martyrdom and the Burial of St. Catherine, painted in a network of arabesques, were done by a modern artist. To this artist is also attributed the head of the Almighty in the lunette above, and the two heads representing the Virgin and the angel Gabriel in the upper corners of the frame of the altar-piece.

The fine picture at Dorchester House was probably painted about 1521. It is a very good example of the early part of the period we are now studying. The kneeling figures of the Virgin, St. Joseph, and an ecclesiastic† are very fine, and are painted with great beauty and dignity. Gaudenzio's natural feeling for the exuberance of life is shown in the attitudes of the cherubs, three of whom support and worship the infant Christ, while two others, holding a scroll, are flying over the group. The Holy Child, holding up its arms to its Mother, and the cherubs bending over it, are charmingly rendered. To the right is the ruined wall of the stable, while a fine landscape of distant mountains bounds the horizon to the left. The general

* It had been hanging for some time in the sacristy, where Bordiga saw it.

† Tradition says this is a portrait of the Cardinal Arciboldi Taverna. See Frontispiece.

Taramelli photo *Galleria Lochis, Bergamo*

DANCING AND PLAYING PUTTI

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Anderson photo *Turin Gallery*

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

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Alinari photo *Turin Gallery*

THE DEPOSITION

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scheme of colouring is warm and bright, without being too hot. The deep carmine of the prelate's cape is particularly good and rich.

Two pictures in the Turin Gallery also belong to this period. No. 51 represents the Deposition, and No. 49 a Madonna and Child, with two saints and a "putto." The "Deposition" is the finest picture of this subject that we have from Gaudenzio's brush. The brilliant colouring and the strong lights and shades are here obviously meant to represent a vivid sunset effect, which is still further accentuated by the dark line of mountains against the sky. The level rays of the setting sun light up the hill of Calvary in the background, and the group of soldiers, whose "faire, goodly, and prowd-stepping horses"* recall Leonardo's drawings. In this picture and in the two following ones we find a new and powerful scheme of chiaroscuro, and we realize that Gaudenzio had met with, and was magnetized by, a new and powerful influence. This I believe to have been that of Correggio. Though he was little known to his contemporaries, he would have had much in common with Gaudenzio, and Parma was not far off. Both had to the full the ecstatic temperament, and in the works of both artists exuberance of life abounds. Correggio was more dreamy, and Gaudenzio more ardent and more vigorous. As he comes under Correggio's influence we find as great a depth and brilliancy in his chiaroscuro, though he rarely achieves the delicate gradations and the pearly tones which are Correggio's special gift and peculiar charm. But from about 1527 Gaudenzio undoubtedly knew and

* Lomazzo.

strove after Correggio's ideals, and came very near him, as we shall see in the Vercelli frescoes.

No. 49 in the Turin Gallery represents the Madonna seated on a throne, with a baldaquin hung with purple cloth. The infant Christ stands on her knees, with His hand raised in benediction. The type of face and the modelling recall Luini, while the "putto," playing on a harp at the foot of the throne reminds us of the child in the "Marriage of St. Catherine" at Novara. On the right of the throne stands St. Martin, and on the left St. Maurice in Bishop's robes. The fine, sharp features of the last-named are strongly painted, and this head is evidently a portrait. The background of fruit-trees is carefully painted.

In the Church of San Pietro at Maggianico, near Lecco, on the Lake of Como, is an altar-piece which belongs to this period, though inferior to the works of this time. It represents Sant' Ambrogio, St. Anthony, and St. Bonaventura, and was originally painted on wood. The three saints were transferred on to canvases early last century, and slightly injured in consequence. The colouring is rich and warm, and the figures are the types we have constantly found in this artist's works. The predella, representing the Apostles, is by another hand.

We will now turn to a work which shows clearly the further development of the influence of Correggio on Gaudenzio's art, namely, "The Flight into Egypt," in the Duomo at Como, which was probably executed about 1527. Being painted in tempera on canvas, the great brilliancy of the colour is not now apparent, but the new influence is seen not only in the strong

Alinari photo *Cathedral, Como*

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

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chiaroscuro, but also in certain details of the composition. The angel flying overhead recalls the one in "The Martyrdom of St. Placida," while the woolly clouds and the large palm-tree remind us of the "Riposo." The angels are, however, Gaudenzio's own types, and the infant Christ still recalls the Luini "putti," only possessed of far more animation.

From Como Gaudenzio probably went to the Valtellina. Private as well as professional reasons took him there during the winter of 1527 and 1528.* An altar-piece in the Church of San Giovanni, near Bellagio, shows clearly the new influence, while the technique gives the approximate date. This picture represents Christ in glory, seated on clouds and surrounded by angels bearing the signs of the Passion. Below are the members of a family kneeling in worship, the women to the right, under the protection of St. Peter and St. John the Baptist, the men to the left, under the protection of St. Paul and St. Lawrence. The strong lighting from the front and the confused, crowded impression produced by the heavy clouds denote his new methods. But his natural strength and power are shown in the fine sweep of the draperies, in the grand figures of the saints, and in the charm and beauty of the angels' heads. The expression of rapt devotion on the faces is depicted with Gaudenzio's usual sincerity and depth of feeling.

In the colouring he uses his favourite reds, yellows, and greens. One lady is a particularly striking figure, in a gold-embroidered kirtle flowing over a blue skirt. The cartoons for this picture are at Turin, and seem to have been copied or adapted freely by his followers, as

* His second marriage took place about then.

we see from the works of Bernardino Lanino and two of the Giovenones.*

The picture in the collection of Dr. Mond in London probably belongs to this time, for, though the execution is broad and fluid, there is still a certain restraint. It represents St. Andrew bearing his cross and standing out against a blue sky, with a landscape painted in the lower part of the canvas.

* In the Turin Gallery and in Sir F. Cook's collection at Richmond.

Alinari photo *San Cristoforo, Vercelli*

THE MADONNA AND CHILD, SAINTS AND PUTTI

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CHAPTER VII

VERCELLI—1528 TO 1536

EARLY in 1528 Gaudenzio went to live at Vercelli.* He was probably led by both family and business reasons to make this move. He had recently married again, and it is possible he preferred to start his new menage in another town, and one where he had many friends and where he expected to find fresh work for his brush, and in this he was not disappointed. On October 13 of that year he signed a contract with the noble Lady Dorothea, widow of Renier Avogadro de Valdengo, to paint an ancona for the fourth chapel in the Church of the Holy Trinity at Vercelli. This church was destroyed in later years, and the ancona has disappeared; but we learn from the contract that the subjects chosen were the Nativity and various saints, viz., St. Roch, St. Sebastian, St. Anthony, and St. Christopher, saints who were specially invoked against the plague. The ancona was to be decorated and gilded in a similar manner to one that Gaudenzio had executed for the Church of Sant' Eusebio,† and he was to receive 36 écus d'or for it.

The next year saw the beginning of his work for the

* His name appears as witness in a deed dated July 24, 1528, relative to his pupil, Jerome Giovenone's, money matters.

† This church has also been destroyed.

Church of St. Christopher at Vercelli, which, taken as a whole, undoubtedly ranks as the greatest creation of his brush. This church belonged to the Order of the Umiliati, and had been for some time under the control of the Corradi family, Counts of Lignana and patricians of Vercelli, on the condition that the Provost appointed by that family took the habit and professed the rules of the Order. The church had been recently rebuilt during the administration of the Provost Nicolino Corradi, who, however, died before it was finished. Leo X., on May 4, 1519, continued the rights to the family in favour of a certain Andrea Corradi. Andrea was only eight years old at the time, and during his minority his father, Giovanni Angelo Corradi, as guardian of his son, administered the affairs of the Order and finished the church. Shortly before his son came of age he entered into negotiations with Gaudenzio for the decoration of the church. In a contract signed on June 27, 1529, Gaudenzio not only undertook to paint an altar-piece for the high-altar, with its shell or casing, but also to paint the vaulting above in fresco.* Gaudenzio was to receive in payment the sum of 150 gold écus and three sacks of corn. On July 3, 1529, we find that he gave the contract for the frame to a certain Maestro Nicolo di Vaillate, a Milanese carpenter who was then living at Vercelli. He was to make it after a design given by Gaudenzio, to finish it in six months, and to receive 35 écus in payment. Both picture and frame

* This arrangement was evidently altered when Andrea soon afterwards came of age, and arranged for the frescoes in the adjacent chapel. These documents are missing.

were ready and in place by the beginning of 1530. Alterations and changes were made on the high-altar in later days when a different taste prevailed. Gaudenzio's altar-piece, shorn of its carved frame, is now in the choir, where it was placed about 1623.

It is interesting to note how far the movement of the day had carried Gaudenzio along the new paths of artistic expression. Up to a certain period he was distinctly a reactionary, and only his great gift for movement and action distinguishes him from the old Milanese School. We have followed his gradual evolution, and, as we have just seen in the Como "Flight into Egypt,"* a new and a powerful influence had come into his life. In the picture we are now studying the impression of Correggio's peculiar qualities is as strongly shown, only, being in oil on wood, Gaudenzio's rich colouring is better preserved. The scheme of light and shade is distinctly Correggio's—namely, a dark background, and a sort of searchlight turned on to the group from the front. The lively colouring is subdued by the shadows which are thus strongly emphasized.

The picture represents the Madonna and Child seated on a bank and surrounded by saints. To the left are St. John the Baptist, and St. Christopher carrying another Child-Christ on his shoulder, while to the right we have San Nicolo di Bari and the Blessed Orico, founder of the order, whose bones lie under the high-altar. In the corner kneels a figure in the robes of the Order, which probably represents the young Provost Andrea. In the background is an orange-tree covered

* See p. 88.

with fruit, which gives the popular name to the picture, which is known as "La Madonna delle Arangi." "Putti" are playing about the branches, two of whom are eagerly studying a scroll, and others are holding back a curtain. This in itself is not a new motive in Gaudenzio's compositions, but these particular curtains, both in colour, proportions, and folds, recall Raphael's "Madonna di San Sisto," which was at that time at Piacenza. Two little fellows in the foreground are making music. There is a spontaneity and freedom in the action of these "putti" which gives them a lightness and a vivacity that go far to palliate their too clumsy build. The type of child which Gaudenzio painted under the influence of Luini has given place to a less refined type, and we shall see these rotund little people, with rolls of flesh instead of firmly modelled limbs, appear constantly in the works of his last years.

We have no documents relative to the frescoes representing scenes from the life of St. Mary Magdalen, and the fine "Crucifixion" over the altar of this chapel, but we know they were finished by November, 1532. On December 2, 1530, Gaudenzio signed a contract to paint an ancona for the Church of St. Mark at Vercelli, which was to be ready in six months,* and towards the end of 1531 he began negotiations for an ancona for the Duomo at Casale,† which was partly executed during the first half of 1532. It must therefore have been during the year 1530, the autumn of 1531, and the autumn of 1532, that the frescoes in this chapel were painted.

They have suffered much injury in the course of years,

* This altar-piece has disappeared. † See p. 106.

and more than once were threatened with destruction. When the Spaniards assaulted Vercelli in 1638, a cannon-ball broke the wall* and partly destroyed three of the scenes depicted. Later on a project to pull down the church, as it interfered with the fortifications of the town, was decided upon, but the Frati appealed to the Cardinal Maurice of Savoy to intercede, and the church and all it contained were saved. But, in spite of retouching and damp, what remains of the frescoes is sufficient to show that Gaudenzio maintained a very high standard throughout. His large decisive brush is handled with a masterly dexterity. Life and vivacity are never lacking, but he shows more restraint than is usual in the composition, while the individual figures are superbly painted.

Gaudenzio depicted on the wall four scenes from the life of the Magdalen. They are in two rows, and represent the following subjects:

1. The Magdalen listening to Christ preaching in the Temple.

2. Christ at the house of Simon the Pharisee, and the Magdalen at His feet.

3. The Magdalen at Marseilles.

4. The Magdalen being carried to heaven by angels.

Above, in the centre, is a sibyl holding a scroll, and below is an angel holding up a cartouche, on which is a long inscription in Italian describing the above subjects.

* This occurred in spite of the express command of the Marquis de Leganes, the general in command, who tried to save the church, and gave 400 lire towards restoring the damage done. The Frati used the Marquis's gift to restore the building, but had not enough to restore the paintings.

Below is a tablet with the following inscription in Latin:

JO: ANGELUS EX CORRADIS LIGNANÆ
PR. ANDREÆ PRÆPOSITI ET
NICOLAI HUJUS TEMPLI
CONDITORIS PRONEPOS SACELLUM
HOC DIVÆ M. MAGDALENÆ
DICAVIT MDXXXII.

The two upper frescoes are half destroyed, but we have some idea of the composition from two small pen-and-ink drawings which are now in the collection of the Avocat Borgogna at Vercelli, and which were done previous to the bombardment in 1638.* We find that in the second scene there were two windows in the background, through which we see the Magdalen going to visit the tomb of Christ.

But the best-preserved and, I think, one of the most interesting frescoes Gaudenzio ever painted is No. 3. Like so many compositions of the period, we have several episodes in the same fresco. In the foreground is a fine group of figures, splendidly painted, while in the background fact and fancy are charmingly blended, and in the little scenes depicted the painter tells the story with his usual vivaciousness. In one place we see the Magdalen, with her little band, welcoming the Prince of Marseilles on his return from his pilgrimage, with the news of his son's restoration to life; in another she is preaching from the steps of the Temple

* These may be two pages from the volume of pen-and-ink drawings done by Pellegrino Tibaldi which was in the possession of the Marchese d'Adda at the beginning of the last century.

to Diana; while further on the accident to the young man is taking place. Beyond and behind stretches a fanciful landscape, towns and temples, water and mountains, and castles on crags, a fairy world of romance. We have a good example of the value of tones in the way the gray sheen of the water shows up the little group at the landing-stage, and the effort of the boatmen pushing the boat off is clearly defined.

The two figures kneeling in the foreground are obviously portraits of Vercelli patricians, probably members of the Corradi family. The old-gold-coloured mantle lined with white fur, and the auburn hair and beard of the man, make a rich and harmonious scheme of colour, while the modelling of the heads is excellent. The bony structure of the skull is admirably felt, and the roundness and solidity of the muscles are firmly and strongly drawn. The technique of the two men kneeling to the right is equally interesting. Tradition says that they are portraits of Gaudenzio and the young Bernardino Lanino, who had recently become his pupil.* There is every reason to accept this statement, for on comparing these heads with the well-known frescoes in San Nazzaro in Brolio at Milan, painted by Lanino during the winter of 1545-46, we find they are distinctly the same types, only much younger. The youthful vivacity in Lanino's face is cleverly rendered, while on the face of the older man is a graver, more care-worn expression.

In the group to the right, the inspiration of the artist is unhampered by portraiture, though one recognises that the head of St. Maximian was painted

* In 1530.

from a favourite model. There is a wonderful feeling of spirituality in the Magdalen's face and gestures, and the hands are almost transparent. Gaudenzio never cared to represent the starved asceticism so popular to the fifteenth-century artists, and in later life he errs considerably in the other direction. In this, however, he is only reflecting the general spirit of the late Renaissance, when material and distinctly opulent forms superseded the more refined types of an earlier ideal. The sheath, and not the blade, became the purpose of art, and it is only Gaudenzio's sincerely religious nature that enables him still to endow his figures with a spiritual elevation, which is the keynote of his life.

The fourth fresco was ruined by the cannon-ball which pierced the wall and destroyed a great part of the central group. This represented the Magdalen rising to heaven, supported by angels, and the part which escaped destruction is still interesting to study. One angel supporting the feet of the saint is most remarkable. The feeling of quick motion, like the dart of a bird, almost takes one's breath away. In the background is a fanciful representation of the Estrel Mountains, and little scenes representing the last hours of the Magdalen's life can still be made out. The cartoon for this fresco is in the Albertina Library at Turin.

The last and most important of this series is the "Crucifixion" over the altar of the chapel. Though the details naturally recall Gaudenzio's previous paintings of this subject, it excels them all by the beauty of the technique, while its position, facing down the church,

Boeri photo *San Cristoforo, Vercelli*

THE CRUCIFIXION

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enhances its impressiveness. We find the same scheme of composition as in the Canobbio picture, namely, of lines converging towards the central figure, and the light radiating from it to the group of the fainting Virgin to the left. The figures of the Redeemer and of the penitent thief are very fine. In the latter, especially, the dead weight of the lifeless body is admirably felt, while the anatomy shows that it was not ignorance of the human form, but deliberate intent, which made Gaudenzio rarely paint the nude. The angels are not so interesting as the rest, though the draperies are good; but, as usual, this part of the composition is not satisfactory, as it is overcrowded. Poignant agony and acuteness of grief are there, but the violence of the actions detracts from the solemnity and dignity of the scene.

In the lower part of the picture the group of the fainting Virgin is well painted. Though the type of the Madonna is not so beautiful as on the screen at Varallo, or so noble as that in the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Milan, the face is far superior in technique. Gaudenzio had long ago abandoned the hatching of his earliest fresco work, and we have here a brush which is soft and fluid, depicts the slightest undulation, and makes each face a network of delicate chiaroscuro.

Some of the finest figures in the crowd are those of the soldiers on horseback. That of Longinus is particularly good. The modelling of the head, neck, and arms is excellent, while the draping of the cloak and the general pose of the figure are full of grace and dignity. The soldier to the right is an equally striking

figure. He wears the huge head-dress with feathers we find in German and Swiss pictures of this century, and was possibly painted from some officer commanding in the Emperor's army, and stationed at Vercelli. With his red beard and steel armour, he makes a fine bit of colour.

The St. John and the Magdalen are more insignificant, and though the soldiers gambling are well painted, the composition is rather confused. The portrait of an elderly man kneeling to the left is probably that of Giovanni Angelo Corradi, who died before the completion of the work.

The frescoes on the other side of the church are equally fine and in a far better state of preservation. The contract was signed on November 3, 1532, by Gaudenzio and the new head of the Order, who is now called "the Reverend Sieur Andrea Corradi, Provost of St. Christopher." Gaudenzio undertook to paint the Assumption of the Virgin, and such scenes from her life as should be agreed upon by the Provost and himself. The painting was not to be in any way inferior to that of the frescoes in the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, and he was to begin the work in the spring of the following year, and to receive 80 écus d'or in payment.

During the intervening months he must have been at Vigevano, where he painted a "Descent of the Holy Ghost" for the chapel in the Ducal Palace. In the list of expenses for the first four months of 1533, kept by the Intendant Giovanni Aloysio for the Duke of Milan, is the following entry: "A Maestro Gaudenzio pittore in Vigevano lire 63." This picture is praised

Bocri photo *San Cristoforo, Vercelli*

THE MAGDALEN AT MARSEILLES

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by Lomazzo, and was evidently an important work; but it has disappeared, and I have been unable to trace it. It is certainly not the picture in the collection of the Prince Hercolani at Bologna, which, however, is an interesting atelier work done some fifteen years earlier.

In the Chapel of the Virgin in the Church of St. Christopher at Vercelli, Gaudenzio arranged the scenes on much the same plan as in the chapel opposite. The "Assumption" is over the altar, and corresponds in dimensions with the "Crucifixion" on the other side of the church, while the side-wall is divided into four spaces. As the window is shorter on this side, the space beneath it is of sufficient height to admit of an extra composition, which consists of a fine group of figures representing St. Catherine of Siena, St. Nicholas of Bari with two ladies kneeling, who were probably members of the Corradi family. Beneath them is the following inscription:

R. P. FR. ANDREAS EX CORRADIS
LIGNANÆ. HUJUS ECCLESIÆ
HUMILIATORUM RELIGIONIS
PRÆPOSITUS, SACELLUM HOC
VIVENS FIERI CURAVIT
MDXXXIIII.

The head of St. Nicholas is obviously done from the same model as the head of St. Martin in the Turin Gallery.* There is the same sharp nose, small, compressed mouth, and ridge across the forehead, only in this fresco he is a trifle older and stouter. It is a

* See p. 88.

refined face, full of kindness and humour, and was probably the portrait of some ecclesiastic living at Vercelli.

Over the window is a Sibyl with a scroll, much injured, but very similar to the one in the chapel opposite. The following scenes were chosen for the rest of the wall:

1. The Birth of the Virgin.
2. The Sposalizio.
3. The Nativity.
4. The Visit of the Magi.

The first scene is slightly injured by damp. The subject is treated in a homely manner, and the peasant women, busy over the child in the foreground, are simply and naturally grouped. In the background is a charming figure of a little maid bringing in food, while the expression of anxious inquiry depicted on the face of the nurse bending over St. Anna is excellent. She has brought her the boiled egg which it is still the custom in Piedmont and Lombardy to give the mother as soon as she can take refreshment. In the background is the angel appearing to St. Joachim and St. Anna.

No. 2 recalls the Como "Sposalizio." The grouping is practically the same, and there is the same element of exaggeration in the attitudes of the disappointed suitors. The one to the left is in the same whirling pose as in the Como picture, and in his green and yellow tights he is an even more fantastic figure, both as regards colouring and attitude. There is a great advance in the technique of the Vercelli fresco, and the general scheme of colouring is light and harmonious.

Boeri photo *S. Cristoforo, Vercelli*

DETAIL OF THE HEAD OF A WOMAN IN "THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN"

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The expression and pose of the Virgin have a certain quiet and simple beauty. The finest heads in this group are, however, those of the three women standing behind her. To the extreme right is a singularly beautiful and dignified woman of mature years. Next to her is another head of great distinction, while the one looking over the Virgin's shoulder, with her sweet expression and starry eyes, is a particularly winsome personality. The careful delineation and the refinement of the features show that they are portraits, probably of members of the Vercelli aristocracy, as they are very different from Gaudenzio's usual types. In this series it is obvious that the Virgin is done from a very beautiful model of the peasant class.

In the background is the Temple, and to the left is a small group representing the Presentation of the Virgin. These little figures are lightly sketched in, but the attitudes are admirable, that of St. Anna being particularly good.

No. 3 represents the Nativity, and is the most completely satisfactory of the series. It is the finest work of this subject painted by Gaudenzio in the "maniera moderna," as Vasari calls it. The composition, technique, and feeling are of the highest order, and the nearest approach to it is the Dorchester House "Nativity," which takes the same high place as a panel picture as this does as fresco work. The Madonna in the Arona "Nativity" stood supreme in a byegone world of a calmer devotional atmosphere. Though her features show a delicate emotion, she does not, however, possess the intense dramatic qualities that vivify the interesting figure in the Vercelli work. Both

pictures are fine works of art, but as different in style as in technique. The beauty of face and gesture and the grand sweep of the Madonna's cloak are wonderfully fine in the fresco we are now studying. The somewhat clumsy type is redeemed by the simplicity of the attitude, and elevated by the beauty and intensity of the feeling.

What we have already mentioned about Gaudenzio's technique is very apparent in this fresco, and the modelling of the old shepherd's head is a good example of his skill in chiaroscuro. The angels making music are amongst the most perfect he ever painted. The landscape is roughly but admirably indicated. The sharp line dividing off the little scenes above, though it cuts into the sky, has a certain constructive value in separating the Annunciation and the Presentation, which are depicted in architectural surroundings, from the wild, lonely landscape beneath.

The fourth scene represents the Visit of the Magi, and is composed differently from the rest. The figures of the kings and their retinues fill the foreground and middle distance, and cover the space allotted to this picture. There is no distant background with little scenes, as we have seen in the other frescoes. The composition is original, but rather overcrowded and confused, and the subject has given Gaudenzio another opportunity to introduce in the figures of the three kings fine portraits of Vercelli magnates in all the bravery of Renaissance dress. The nobleman standing to the right, in his brown and gold surcoat slashed with green, and the richly dressed young man getting off his horse and doffing his plumed cap, to the left, are superbly painted.

Boeri photo *San Gaudenzio, Vercelli*

THE NATIVITY

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Boeri photo *San Cristoforo, Vercelli*

DETAIL OF THE ASSUMPTION

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The strength and breadth of treatment, combined with a keen insight into character, make it a matter of regret that Gaudenzio neglected this branch of art, for he here shows himself to be the equal of any portrait-painter of his day.

The kneeling Magian, in his shot mauve and yellow mantle, is also fine, but the fresco has suffered from damp and has been retouched. In the collection belonging to the Avocat Borgogna at Vercelli is a painting in oils which is believed to be the original sketch for this fresco. In its present condition it is difficult to recognise Gaudenzio's brush, but it has a special interest, as it contains more figures to the right than the space of the wall allowed of.

The horses are badly done, as Gaudenzio never could paint or model horses with any success, and he probably left them to his assistants to finish. He had undertaken to paint all the figures himself in these frescoes, but in this particular scene there is much inequality, and some of the heads are painted by another hand. This is, however, the only one of the series in which this is noticeable.

We will now turn to the "Assumption of the Virgin" over the altar of the chapel. With all its faults, it may rank as the finest representation of this subject. The composition may lack the simplicity of Titian's great work at Venice, but it far exceeds it in the intense and subtle qualities of expression and feeling. The Correggiesque influences are noticeable, but the fervour and rapture that pervade this great work are far more vigorous and human. The intensity of devotion expressed furnishes an upward lift for thought and imagination. But

though the spiritual expression on her face recalls St. Placida in Correggio's picture at Parma, this beautiful Madonna is Gaudenzio's own creation, as, rapt in ecstatic self-surrender, she floats upwards, drawn by an irresistible force, ending her earthly existence in the spirit of her first utterance, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me even as thou wilt."

Above the Virgin's head is the Almighty holding a crown, while all round her are "putti" and clouds. Though nothing can destroy the distinction of the principal figure, the general effect is crowded and confused. The type of "putti" is unpleasing, and these muscular and rubicund children, in their violent attitudes, go far to destroy the spiritual atmosphere of the scene.

In the lower part of the picture are the disciples, drawn on a slightly larger scale to emphasize the distance from the group above. The heads are the usual types found at this period of Gaudenzio's art. The faces are full of awe, amazement, and grief. The gestures of the hands are rather monotonous. They are of a coarse type, well drawn, with the artist's usual peculiarities. Though much of the detail is unsatisfactory in this fresco, the dramatic qualities and the powerful technique, combined with sincerity and depth of feeling, not only save it from the deadening influences of mannerism and fleshiness, but also raise it to a very high place in the realm of imaginative art.

As we have seen from the inscription, these frescoes were finished in 1534. On July 9 of that year Gaudenzio makes a final arrangement about the altar-piece

for Casale, which we have already mentioned,* and which he undertook to finish by the next September. The remains of this work now hang in the Cathedral of Casale Monferrato, but are hardly worth visiting, as they were badly injured by fire in the eighteenth century. The central panel, representing the Baptism of our Lord, now hangs in the second chapel to the left of the west door. The St. John recalls the St. John in the Varallo screen, but here wears a red cloak. The figure of Christ is quite spoilt by sentimentality. Some smaller fragments hang in the choir, but the damage done by the fire and the subsequent restoration have quite ruined the original work.

We now come to Gaudenzio's last great masterpiece, the Choir of Angels, in the dome of the pilgrimage Church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli at Saronno. Gaudenzio had already begun negotiations relative to this piece of work, for in the contract which he signed at Milan on September 28, 1534, mention is made of a design which he had already submitted for the approval of the deputies of the sanctuary. In this document the terms are more generous than usual. The deputies undertake to give lodging and wine for himself and his assistants, and to pay for the scaffolding and for the replastering of the surface of the dome where necessary. In return Gaudenzio undertakes to start work at the end of Easter week in the following year, and not to begin anything else till it was finished. He was to receive 200 scudi d'or, and there are the same conditions relative to the judgment of an expert, when the work is completed, that we have found in previous con-

* See p. 94.

tracts. The beauty of the work is such, however, that we are not surprised to find that Gaudenzio eventually received 250 scudi d'or. He must have taken about a year over it; for though he was back at Vercelli on October 4, 1535 (which is the last mention of him in that town), the entries in the Saronno archives show that the final payments for the frescoes were not made till June 11 and November 17, 1536.

The cupola at Saronno displays some of Gaudenzio's finest qualities, and this in spite of the fact that he was undoubtedly helped by his assistants in the execution of these frescoes. The idea was probably inspired by Correggio's domes at Parma, but the composition of this one is entirely Gaudenzio's work. In the centre is the Almighty in a circle of cherubim and seraphim, from which radiate flames and rays of light. Though not as a rule using gesso in this work, Gaudenzio uses both carving and gesso for this group. Below is a ring of " putti " in every attitude of ecstatic joy. They are rather injured by damp and by cracks in the plaster, but are on the whole well preserved. They were done in part by Gaudenzio's assistants. The majority of the figures in the crowd of angels were painted by Gaudenzio himself, but a certain number of the heads lack the lively touch of his own brush. His chief assistants were probably his son Gerolamo and his pupil Bernardino Lanino. They had been working under him since about 1532, and we shall find them still working under him a little later at Varallo.

In these frescoes we find Gaudenzio's usual gay but harmonious scheme of colouring — yellows, browns, greens, mulberry reds, grays and whites, with blues

Anderson photo *Sanctuary of Santa Maria dei Miracoli, Saronno*

DETAIL OF FRESCOES OF ANGELS IN THE CUPOLA

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sparsely introduced. Though he is always inclined to make the draperies too voluminous, they are well manipulated and beautifully painted. The varied kinds of musical instruments are very curious and most effectively introduced. Among the many beautiful figures is one of an angel blowing bagpipes. This noble and dignified figure, in a dark-green dress and pale-reddish mantle, is one of the finest in this work. Next it, to the right, Gaudenzio has painted the youthful head with flaxen ringlets we have met with before—notably in the Novara "Last Supper" and in the St. Christopher frescoes at Vercelli. Another figure of special interest is an angel with an S-shaped trumpet. The action is a trifle too vigorous, but the swirl and flow of the pinky draperies are charming. Next it, to the right, in dark-green robes and brown mantle, is the beautiful figure of a singing angel rapt in adoration.

But the supreme quality of this great work is the extraordinary life that pervades it. As we stand below and look up at this busy throng animated with a holy joy, we can but marvel at the astonishing vitality and movement, and it almost seems that we *hear* the rustle of this swarm of angels. The intense excitement and tension shown in every face, the energetic and heart-whole devotion of each single angel to its own particular function in this vast throng, the whole painted with strength, simplicity, and directness—all these qualities combine to make this cupola one of the most remarkable works in Italy.*

* The group representing the Assumption of the Virgin, with "putti," is quite new. The surface of the cupola is covered with cracks, and the whole structure is said to stand in need of reparation.

Gaudenzio probably left Vercelli in 1536, for in that year the French invaded Piedmont, and, after taking Turin and some other towns, menaced that place. The unsettled state of the country would be sufficient reason for him to move up into the Valsesia.

There is very little left of his other works at Vercelli. The anconas painted for the Churches of St. Mark and of the Holy Trinity have quite disappeared. Gone, too, are the frescoes of a Madonna and Child in the Church of San Nazarro, and those in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore.* The famous frescoes representing the life of St. Roch, and painted on the façade of the Church of St. Thomas as an *ex voto* against the plague for the people of Vercelli, were already perishing from exposure in 1672 when Cusano saw them, and they have now quite disappeared. In the Church of St. Francis is a fine picture of Sant' Ambrogio,† now in the first chapel to the right of the west door; but the "Conversion of St. Paul" seen by Lanzi in this church has gone. In the Badia of Sant' Andrea, the picture once over the high-altar, representing the Madonna and Child with St. Francis and Santa Clara, is no longer to be found; but in the sacristy there are still the remains of a fresco of the Madonna and Child with three "putti" playing on musical instruments. It is very much injured, but the "putti" have still a certain charm.

A small picture representing the Nativity is in

* Some fragments of these frescoes were once in the Palazzo Gattinara, Vercelli, but I have been unable to trace them.

† Signor Masoero believes it to be by Giovanni Giovenone.

Dubray photo *Sanctuary of Santa Maria dei Miracoli, Saronno*

DETAIL OF THE FRESCOES OF ANGELS IN THE CUPOLA

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the Archbishop's Palace at Milan. It is painted in oil on wood, and belongs to the Vercelli period. The composition is very similar to the big fresco in St. Christopher, only the Madonna is kneeling on the right, and a little St. John is kneeling by her. Three angels playing musical instruments, and St. Joseph kneeling to the left, complete the group, over which stand St. Jerome and St. Christopher. In the back is a charming landscape with a lake and mountains, which recalls the view of Lake Maggiore from Luino. The surface of this panel is, unfortunately, much injured and blackened, but the colouring must have been of great brilliancy. The draperies are well painted, and the reds, yellows, browns, and greens, give a warm effect, while the chiaroscuro is intensified by a bright light which is thrown on the figures from the left.

Gaudenzio is known to have painted a banner for the Society of Masons belonging to San Germano, a village about seven miles from Vercelli. A bad copy is now in the Royal Castle of Rivoli. Many works were once attributed to him in the Vercelli district. Those that still remain are not his work, but show that he had influenced a number of smaller artists who were working in that neighbourhood long after he had left.

CHAPTER VIII

LAST YEARS

THE next trace we have of Gaudenzio is at Varallo, where he was working till 1539. Assisted by Lanino and his son Gerolamo, he painted the cupola of the old church on the Sacro Monte. This church was pulled down in later years, but we know the subject was the same as in the Church of San Giovanni Evangelista at Parma—namely, Christ in glory with the Twelve Apostles and angels, and is another proof of Correggio's influence. Gaudenzio painted the principal figures, and his assistants did the rest. This is the last mention of Lanino as *assistant* to Gaudenzio. He had already undertaken work on his own account, as the contract for his earliest signed picture is dated April 24, 1534,* and he probably now definitely began his independent career, for his fine altar-piece at Borgosesia is dated 1539. We also find a proof of this in the fact that in the Chapel of the Magi, Gaudenzio's next work at Varallo, he is assisted by his son, and Lanino's name is not mentioned.

We have, unfortunately, reached the period of degeneration in Gaudenzio's art, which rapidly developed with his declining years. This chapel was not altered

* No. 65 in the Turin Gallery. This picture was originally in the parish church of Ternengo, near Biella.

in later times, and though it has suffered considerably from damp, it can never have been pleasing, and from what is left of the frescoes we can see that they were roughly and coarsely executed, while both the painted and modelled horses are very bad. Gesso is used in the armour and trappings, a return to his early methods. The rocky background is obviously done from studies in the immediate vicinity of Varallo.

While engaged on this work great sorrow came to Gaudenzio. In 1538 a violent quarrel broke out between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, relative to the administration of the finances of the Sacro Monte, a condition of things particularly distasteful to a man of Gaudenzio's pious and gentle nature. Certain "signori della Castellanzi" had subscribed 200 scudi d'or to found this chapel, and some of the money had been diverted to other uses. In the midst of this trouble, early in 1539, Gaudenzio lost his son, and the broken-hearted father apparently left Varallo at once, and went to live at Milan. He seems to have broken off all further connection with the home of his youth, for on August 15 he sells his house at Varallo for 700 lire.

The document relative to the sale was signed at Milan, and from this time till his death his home was there, though he made two or three journeys to execute commissions in different parts of the duchy.

The first of these commissions was the altar-piece for the Church of Santa Maria di Piazza at Busto Arsizio. It is composed of six panels; the largest, in the centre, represents the Assumption of the Virgin. At the sides are St. John the Baptist, St. Michael,

St. Jerome, and St. Francis. Above is God the Father, and below is a predella with scenes from the life of the Virgin. This is divided into three partitions: to the left we have the birth of the Virgin, in the centre the Sposalizio, and to the right the angel appearing to Joseph in the carpenter's shop. The Assumption is the same composition as the Vercelli fresco, but lacks the spiritual atmosphere of that fine work. The forms are coarser, and the colouring, though rich, is heavier. The favourite yellow mantle appears well in front. The surface of the picture has been much blackened by the smoke of the candles on the altar beneath. In the predella, however, we still have a trace of that vein of delightful fancy which we have often noticed. These little scenes are painted in brown and yellow chiaroscuro with a light, quick brush, and have a vivacity and a delicacy lacking in the larger panels. They are full of natural incidents, such as a child playing with a dog, a dog asleep, the Virgin reading, etc. The drawing for this "Sposalizio" is probably the one now in the Ambrosiana Pinacoteca at Milan.

The side-walls of the choir are covered with frescoes by Lanino, which are nearly all taken from Gaudenzio's designs. As Gaudenzio left his cartoons to Lanino on his death, this is not surprising.

There are no documents to be found relative to Gaudenzio's work during the years 1540 and 1541. In a document signed by him at Milan on March 27, 1540, he appointed his stepson agent for his wife's property at Morbegno, and it is probable that his last visit to the Valtellina took place during these two years. Little is

left now of the work he executed during this visit. A "Coronation of the Virgin" in the parish church of Traona, about three miles from Morbegno, was highly praised by Lomazzo, who speaks of the "Christ who crowns the Virgin, surrounded by angels similar to the Saronno ones." Beneath it was a "Conversion of St. Paul." They were both painted in fresco, but the wall was rebuilt in later years and the frescoes were not preserved. All that remains of them now are some broken fragments in a store-room behind the choir. At Premona, above Talamona, a little higher up the valley, Don Santo Monti found a fresco on the wall of a house, which is undoubtedly by Gaudenzio. The figures are life-size, and represent St. Anthony and St. Roch. It is much injured by weather. At Morbegno itself Gaudenzio painted a 'Nativity" in a lunette over the door of the church belonging to the suppressed Convent of St. Anthony, which is now used as barracks. The fresco is protected by a wire-netting, which makes it difficult to see. In spite of a certain crudity in the colouring and coarseness in the execution, the work is redeemed by the devout and earnest intention of the artist and the beauty of sentiment in the figures.

In 1542 Gaudenzio was commissioned to paint the Chapel of Santa Corona in the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Milan. As the name of the chapel suggests, the subjects chosen were those scenes of the Passion in which the crown of thorns appears. On the right wall we find the "Flagellation," and above it "Christ being shown to the People"; on the left wall is the "Crucifixion," an exaggerated version of the Vercelli masterpiece; and in the vaulting are eight

angels bearing the signs of the Passion. They are coarsely and heavily painted, but are the same types as we have seen in the Saronno cupola.

Though far inferior to the work of his earlier years, certain details in these frescoes are still fine. The face of our Lord in the "Flagellation" is pathetically rendered, while that of the Virgin fainting in the scene of the "Crucifixion" is one of the finest known. The realism of this noble face worn out with grief has never been surpassed.

The frescoes have been much injured by damp, and much of the fiery colouring has faded, but the coarse execution and the violent attitudes of most of the figures—many of which are over life-size—make one feel that these frescoes can never have been satisfactory. We find Gaudenzio again using gesso for the trappings of the horses.

The picture of St. Paul now in the Louvre at Paris was painted in 1543 for the altar of this chapel. It was replaced in 1558 by a "Crowning with Thorns," by Titian, and both pictures were taken to France in 1800, and were not restored in 1814. St. Paul is painted in a green dress and red mantle, seated before a desk on which is an open book. Through a window in the background is seen the town of Damascus, and a small group of figures representing the episode of the conversion of the saint. It is signed and dated on the desk, "1543 Gaudentius." It is not a pleasing picture, for the colouring is too strong and fiery, and the type of face is ugly.

About 1543 Gaudenzio must have lost his wife, for on July 4 of that year we find him renting a house for

three years, together with a certain Giovanni Battista della Cerva, who became his partner for a short time. Tradition says that Della Cerva had begun as a pupil of Lanino, and his work shows he belongs completely to Gaudenzio's school. He has not the strength or the imagination of the old master, and his colouring is grayer, but he has a certain grace, and his execution is good. It is to Della Cerva's brush that I should ascribe the greater part of the execution of the charming "Madonna and Child" now in the Carrara Gallery at Bergamo, and the "Christ rising from the Tomb" now in the National Gallery in London, as they both lack the vivid strenuousness of Gaudenzio's own technique.

The most important work they did together is the "Last Supper" for the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist in the Church of the Passionists at Milan. The original contract is lost, but a document exists dated February 18, 1544, referring to the payment for the picture, and also for the frame, which was made by a certain Giovanni Pietro from a drawing given by Gaudenzio. Della Cerva is mentioned as Gaudenzio's associate.

The general tone of this picture is light and gay, but the flesh tints are grayer, and the colours have no longer the intensity of Gaudenzio's earlier work. Through the open window we see a building which is supposed to represent the original Church of the Passion before it was enlarged. There is a touch of humour in the two little gamins who have climbed up to the window and are watching the feast. In the principal group the types of the heads, the attitudes of the figures, and the folds of the draperies, are more or less copied from his

older works, but the composition lacks the early spontaneity and vivacity.

This "Last Supper" was commissioned by a certain Don Aurelio, Prior of the monastery. He tried to make a stipulation that, in return for his gift, the monks of the Passion should say a yearly mass for him on the anniversary of his death. As he could not get this arrangement made, he presented the picture to the Church of Sant' Ambrogio at Merate in 1546, and in 1549 cancelled his original deed of gift to the Passionists of Milan. Litigation ensued, as Gaudenzio's death had, no doubt, sent up the value of the work, and finally, in 1551, the picture was restored to its original place.

To this period belongs the "Martyrdom of St. Catherine" now in the Brera. This picture was originally painted for the Church of Sant' Angelo. It is an unfortunate specimen of the work of his last years. The strength is there, but spoilt by violent and uncouth attitudes. The brilliant colour, no longer subdued by delicate half-tones, has degenerated into crudeness, the types are coarse, and in the case of the central figure ruined by sentimentality. The flesh tints are grayer and browner, and the technique heavy and laboured, while the composition is incoherent and confused. Such as it is, however, it was immensely admired by Gaudenzio's contemporaries, and in later times* we find the Austrian Government giving 48,000 lire to secure it for the Brera. Being in that important gallery and being a work of such magnitude, this picture has, perhaps, more than anything else tended to give a wrong estimation of Gaudenzio's very real talents.

* In 1829.

Another late work is in the Church of Santa Maria in Celso at Milan. It is in the ambulatory, and represents the Baptism of Christ. The St. John recalls the Casale picture, but the figure of Christ is more dignified. They are painted life-size. To the right are two angels, and above are God the Father, and the Holy Ghost descending in the form of a dove. Around are five "putti" and clouds. In the background is a charming landscape with hills and mountains, and a castle by a stream. It is one of the most pleasing of Gaudenzio's last works.

In the Basilica of Sant' Ambrogio is a canvas painted in tempera. It is in the third chapel to the right, that of St. Bartholomew, and that saint is represented standing on one side of the Madonna and Child, with St. John the Evangelist on the other, while above two "putti" hold a crown over the Madonna's head. The figures are life-size, but the colours have sunk in, the surface of the canvas has been much blackened and injured by time, and it is in a very bad light. Like most of Gaudenzio's other work of this period, it is mentioned by Lomazzo.

A picture of St. Jerome in the Church of San Giorgio is also attributed to Gaudenzio. It is in the first chapel to the right, but it is extremely doubtful that this coarsely-painted picture was his work. His special characteristics are lacking in the drawing, though his favourite red is used for the cloak of the saint, and the general impression given by this picture makes me think that it belongs to a slightly later period. Tradition says that the kneeling figure to the left is the portrait of a member of the Della Croce family

who was Abbot of the adjoining monastery, now suppressed.

In the Borromean Gallery at Milan are two "putti" who evidently once formed part of an altar-piece. The type of child belongs to this late period, and the pale flesh-tints and gray tones would point to Della Cerva's assistance in the execution. Some foliage recalls Gaudenzio's own brush, and the curtains are painted a certain red he constantly uses.

In 1545 Gaudenzio worked again at Saronno. He painted four tondos below the cupola with the following scenes from the story of the Fall:

1. The Creation of Eve.
2. Adam and Eve in Eden.
3. The Temptation of Eve.
4. The Expulsion from Eden.

The first two are ruined by damp, but the two last named are in a fair state of preservation. We do not know who were Gaudenzio's assistants, as the only name mentioned in the archives is a certain Battista, a wood-carver, but these frescoes entirely lack Gaudenzio's usual animation. The tone of colouring is light, with pale, distant landscapes. The figures are painted against the skyline, and the anatomy is good.

Gaudenzio also painted an "Assumption of the Madonna" with the Apostles, which was destroyed when an organ was placed on that wall in the seventeenth century. From the Saronno archives we learn that he received 100 gold scudi for this work, which shows that it was an important one.

In the latter part of 1545 Gaudenzio must have

undertaken the frescoes representing the stories of the Madonna, of St. Anna, and of St. Joachim, for the Church of Santa Anna della Pace at Milan.* These frescoes, which are now in the Brera, were left incomplete at Gaudenzio's death in January, 1546. They were finished by inferior artists, and, though the execution is often poor, the composition shows that the vein of lively imagination was still strong in the old artist. Inferior as these frescoes are to Gaudenzio's masterpieces at Vercelli and Saronno, their one claim to consideration may be that they are said to have influenced Paolo Veronese, and in some of these figures we can see the forerunners of the great Venetian's courtly crowds.

* This church was secularized, and the pictures dispersed, early last century.

CHAPTER IX

DRAWINGS

A GOOD many of Gaudenzio's drawings and cartoons are to be found at Turin. In the Royal Library is an album containing a good many small drawings belonging to the Lombard School, of which fourteen may be attributed to Gaudenzio. He generally drew on gray or brown paper, sometimes in pen and ink or in crayon, or he painted in gouache. Sepia is chiefly used with white for the high lights, and he also occasionally uses a green colour. Another interesting collection of small drawings is in the possession of the Cavaliere Antonio Abrate of Turin. There are a good many by Lanino in this collection, but twelve are certainly by Gaudenzio, and are very well preserved. The earliest represents the Visit of the Magi, and is about the time of the Varallo screen. Another of the same subject, in pen and ink touched up with white, belongs to a slightly later period. It is very good. Many of these drawings are chequered for enlarging.

In the Albertina at Turin we find a large collection of cartoons. Gaudenzio bequeathed a great number to Bernardino Lanino, who at his death left them to his son Pietro, who valued them at 400 scudi. His heir, the Canonico Carlo Solero, sold them for 800 scudi to the Marchese Serra. Later they got dispersed, but in

the reign of Charles Emmanuel I. of Savoy a certain number were acquired for the Royal Gallery at Turin. In 1830 King Carlo Alberto ordered all drawings in the Royal Collection to be transferred to the Royal Accademia Albertina delle Belle Arti, where they have remained ever since. There are fifty-eight in all, but some are by Lanino, and in nearly all these cartoons the original strokes of the chalk have been gone over again and again, so that it is difficult to recognise Gaudenzio's touch anywhere. The following are probably his work :

NO.

3. The Nativity.
4. Madonna and Child.
6. A single Figure. Possibly pair to No. 49.
9. Christ in Glory, with Putti bearing the Signs of the Passion. Cartoon for the picture in San Giovanni, near Bellagio.
13. St. Catherine. Possibly pair to No. 18.
14. Madonna and Child, with Worshippers.
15. The Magdalen rising to Heaven. Cartoon for the Vercelli fresco.
18. A single Figure. See No. 13.
22. Annunciation. Very similar to the composition on the Varallo screen.
24. The Deposition.
26. The Resurrection.
27. The Deposition, with Seven Figures.
29. The Nativity.
31. The Apostles.
33. The Sposalizio.

NO.
37. An Archangel.
42(?). Signs of the Passion.
44. The Madonna kneeling with Angels.
46. The Holy Sepulchre.
49. St. John. See No. 6.
50. A Bishop. Pair to No. 50 *bis*.
50 *bis*. A Bishop. See No. 50.
51. Saint and Angel, with Donor kneeling.
53. The Holy Family.
55. The Virgin, Child, and Saints.
58. The Madonna, St. John, and Saints.

The cartoons for Nos. 9 and 42 were used by two of the Giovenones in pictures now in the Turin Gallery.

A very early drawing exists in the Belle Arti at Vercelli which is of special interest, as it is a youthful copy of a drawing by Perugino. It is painted in gouache in gray and red monotone, and is probably done from a study by Perugino for his "Deposition," which was painted in 1495, and is now in the Pitti, as the greater part of the design is a facsimile of that composition. When Perugino was at Pavia in 1498, it is probable that his sketches were eagerly studied by the young Lombard artists. The want of proportion, the ignorance of anatomy, and the clumsiness of the technique, show great inexperience, while the peculiarities of Gaudenzio's earliest style are found.

In the Uffizi, Morelli found two drawings by Gaudenzio under other names. They are now correctly labelled, and are No. 348, which represents an Assumption of the Madonna with a host of angels,

and No. 352, which represents a Madonna and Child with two angels. No. 351 is not by Gaudenzio. It is a copy of a bit of the fresco on the left side of the Chapel of the Crucifixion on the Sacro Monte. It is possibly by the same artist whose copies of the Magdalen frescoes are in the possession of the Avocat Borgogna.* There is the same precise but weak execution, and it is drawn in the same faded yellow ink.

In the Accademia at Venice is a study of five Apostles, probably a sketch for a predella. They are painted in brown, touched up with white, on a gray paper. The "Last Supper" there is not by him. Morelli mentions a "Martyrdom of St. Cecilia" and an allegorical figure, but I have been unable to trace anything else that could possibly be attributed to Gaudenzio in this collection.

At Milan there is a sketch in the Ambrosiana Pinacoteca, which I have already referred to,† as I believe it to be a study for the "Sposalizio" in the predella of the big altar-piece at Busto Arsizio. It is full of life and movement. In the Ambrosiana Library Dr. Frizzoni found another drawing by Gaudenzio. It is No. 49 in a book called "La Galleria Portabile," which consists of a collection of various drawings under the name of Polidoro di Caravaggio. It is drawn in pencil, with a sepia wash, and touched up with white, and represents an octagonal-shaped cupola, with four angels flying, and in a circular niche is the bust of a Bishop. Another drawing is in Dr. Frizzoni's own collection at Milan, and represents a Last Supper.

* See p. 96.

† See p. 114.

It is drawn roughly with the pen, shadowed with sepia, and lightened with white.

Outside of Italy, London and Oxford are the only places where drawings by Gaudenzio exist. Morelli believed that No. 113 in the Dresden Collection was by him.* It is a decorative scheme representing two "putti," with foliage and grapes, and, though reluctant to differ from that eminent critic, I believe it to be the work of Lanino. It is too finished for Gaudenzio, whose later drawings are strongly but roughly executed. This drawing was photographed by Braun under the name of Correggio,† which is yet another proof of the influence of that artist on Gaudenzio, and indirectly on his followers.‡

In the Print Room at the British Museum we find several drawings belonging to the Milanese School. Two in the Malcolm Collection are by Gaudenzio. No. 318 is a design for a lunette, and represents three figures playing on musical instruments. They are painted in bistre and heightened with white, and done on gray paper. The other drawing is one of the earliest we possess by Gaudenzio, and one of the finest. The composition recalls Perugino's fine picture of the same subject at Florence, but the types are different. The careful manner of delineating the locks of hair is to be found in all Gaudenzio's early work. The portrait of the donor shows that this must have been the sketch

* The oil-painting of a Holy Family in the Dresden Gallery is not by Gaudenzio.

† No. 84 in Braun's Catalogue.

‡ A picture by an unknown artist in the library at Charterhouse, of the Coronation of the Virgin, is another proof of this.

for a commission, and, judging from the finish of the drawing, it was executed earlier than the screen at Varallo. It is delicately and minutely drawn in red chalk, and the high lights painted with white.

Another drawing in the British Museum is probably a study for the "Madonna degli Arangi" in San Cristoforo at Vercelli.* There is the same background of foliage and fruit, with "putti" playing in the boughs and holding back curtains, and the larger technique shows that it belongs to the Vercelli period.

Another drawing by Gaudenzio is in the library of Christ Church, Oxford. It represents the head of a youth wearing a biretta, and is executed in silver point heightened with white.

* See p. 93.

CHRONOLOGY

1480-81. Probable date of Gaudenzio's birth at Valduggia. Father's name, Antonio Lanfranco or Fracchino; mother's family name, Vincio (of Varallo): both dead before 1510.

1494-98. Went to Milan and studied under Stefano Scotto and Luini.

1498. Possible date of a "Pietà" in fresco in the cloisters of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Varallo.

1503. Fresco on wall of the Chapel of the Pietà, Sacro Monte, Varallo, originally Chapel of the Journey to Calvary.

1507. Frescoes in the Chapel of St. Margaret in the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Varallo.

1508. Probable year of Gaudenzio's marriage. On July 26 he signed a contract at Vercelli to paint a picture for the Confraternity of Sant' Anna. He is called "maestro," and described as "Gaudentius de' Varali." Eusebio Ferrari is mentioned in the deed as witness for Gaudenzio. The picture was to be ready by Easter, 1509. It has disappeared.

1509. On May 7 Gaudenzio signed a receipt for payment for the above-mentioned work, in the Church of St. Agnes, probably at Vercelli. His son Gerolamo was born this year.

1510. On February 25 Gaudenzio signed a contract for an ancona for the Church of Santa Maria at Arona. To be ready by Easter in the next year.

1511. On June 5 and July 26 Gaudenzio signed documents relative to the above-mentioned ancona at Arona.

1512. His daughter Margaret was born this year.

1513. Gaudenzio finished the great screen in the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Varallo.

1514. On July 20 he signed a contract to paint an ancona for the Church of San Gaudenzio at Novara. To be finished in eighteen months.

1515. On May 4 he signed a receipt for a part of the sum due for the above-mentioned ancona at Novara.

1516. On December 23 he signed receipt for part payment of San Gaudenzio ancona at Novara.

1518. Gaudenzio signed a document relative to the payment of the San Gaudenzio ancona at Novara on January 18.

1520. On May 29 Gaudenzio signed a receipt for part payment for the altar-piece at Morbegno, in the Valtellina.

1521. On January 9 he signed a contract relative to Joseph Giovenone, who is to begin his apprenticeship under Gaudenzio on February 13 following.

On February 5 he signed a receipt for further payment of the San Gaudenzio ancona at Novara.

On October 14 Gaudenzio signed receipt for part payment of the ancona at Morbegno.

1524. On March 8 and July 21 he signed receipts for payments at Morbegno.

1525. On May 9 Gaudenzio signed a document as witness at Vercelli.

On August 12, September 7 and 16, and October 7, he signed receipts for payments at Morbegno.

1526. On January 26 Gaudenzio signed receipt for payment at Morbegno.

1528. Early this year Gaudenzio married for a second time, and went to live at Vercelli. The following documents are dated from that place :

On July 24 he signed a deed as witness.

On October 13 he signed a contract for an altar-piece for the Church of Santa Trinità, to be ready by August 1, 1529. This picture has disappeared.

On November 8 he signed a deed as witness.

1529. On June 27 Gaudenzio signed the contract for the altar-piece in St. Christopher, Vercelli.

On July 3 he signed a contract with a wood-carver for the frame of the above-mentioned altar-piece.

1530. On February 3 he signed a deed as witness in the Convent of San Marco, Vercelli.

On July 12 he signed a deed as witness. In the same document are the names of his son Gerolamo and of Bernardino Lanino.

On July 24 Gaudenzio signed a deed as witness.

On December 2 he signed a contract for an ancona for the Church of San Marco, Vercelli. It was to be ready by June 31, 1531. This picture has disappeared.

1531. On February 23 Gaudenzio signed receipt for part payment of the above-mentioned ancona.

1532. On January 14 and 19 and on August 7 and 19 he signed receipts for payments of the altar-piece for the cathedral at Casale Monferrato.

On May 4 Gaudenzio signed a deed in which his son Gerolamo appears as witness.

On August 14 Gaudenzio signed a deed in which he makes himself guarantee for his stepson.

A document dated November 2, relative to his daughter's marriage and *dot*, is signed by Gaudenzio and his son Gerolamo. The money is secured by a mortgage on his houses at Varallo, and is to be paid in four instalments.

On November 3 Gaudenzio signed the contract for the

frescoes representing the life of the Virgin in the Church of St. Christopher, Varallo.

1533. In the list of expenses during the first four months of 1533, kept by the Duke of Milan's intendant at Vigevano, is the following entry: "A Maestro Gaudentio pittore in Vigevano lire 63."

1534. On July 9 Gaudenzio signed a document relative to the Casale altar-piece, which is to be finished and sent off in the following September. Signed at Vercelli.

On September 20 Gaudenzio met the deputies from Saronno at Milan, and signed a contract to paint the cupola of Santa Maria di Saronno. He was to begin the next Easter, and to receive 200 écus d'or. Signed at Milan.

1535. On October 4 Gaudenzio signed a deed as witness at Vercelli. This is the last notice of him in that town.

1536. On June 11 and November 17 Gaudenzio signed receipts for payments for the Saronno work. Name of place is not mentioned, but it was probably Saronno.

1539. On August 8 Gaudenzio signed a document relative to his wife's property. This and the following documents are all signed at Milan.

On August 9 he signed a deed selling his house at Varallo for 700 livres.

On September 22 he signed a document appointing an agent at Morbegno to administer his wife's property.

On October 1 Gaudenzio and another artist arbitrate in a quarrel between a patron and an artist.

On October 8 the decision relative to the above-mentioned arbitration was signed.

1540. On January 20 Gaudenzio signed a receipt for the final payment for his house at Varallo.

On March 27 he signed a deed making his stepson agent at Morbegno.

1543. On July 4 Gaudenzio and Della Cerva take a house for three years.

Picture of St. Paul, now in the Louvre, was painted this year.

1544. A document dated February 18, and relative to the "Last Supper" in the Church of the Passionists at Milan, mentions three payments made to Gaudenzio and Della Cerva, and one to the frame-maker.

1545. Entries made in the Saronno archives during this year prove that Gaudenzio and his assistants painted the four tondos under the cupola during this year; also an "Assumption of the Virgin," which was destroyed in later times to make room for the organ.

1546. Death of Gaudenzio Ferrari, January 31.

CATALOGUE OF THE WORKS OF GAUDENZIO FERRARI

[N.B.—The letters E and L in this list refer to Early and Late.]

THE BRITISH ISLES.

BRIGHTON, Mr. Henry Willett, Montpellier Place.

Madonna and Child. Doubtful. Oil on wood.

LONDON, National Gallery.

Christ rising from the Tomb (L.). Oil on wood.

Execution probably by Della Cerva. Formerly in the Scarpa Gallery at Motta di Livenza, near Treviso. Purchased 1895.

LONDON, British Museum. [Drawings.]

Malcolm Collection, No. 318, Lunette with three figures.

The Agony in the Garden (E.). Red chalk.

Possible sketch for the Madonna degli Arangi.

LONDON, Captain Holford, Dorchester House, Park Lane.

Holy Family with Donor. Oil on wood, 4 feet 11 inches × 3 feet 9 inches.

Formerly in the Palazzo Taverna at Milan. Bought early in the last century by Gianbattista Etienne, of Brussels, for 5,000 florins, and sold by him to an English gentleman for 40,000 francs.

LONDON, Dr. Ludwig Mond, Avenue Road, N.W.

St. Andrew. Oil on wood.

Formerly in the Scarpa Collection at Motta di Livenza Purchased 1895.

FRANCE.

PARIS, Louvre.

St. Paul (L.). Oil on wood.

Formerly in the Chapel of Santa Corona in Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan. Taken to Paris in 1800.

Inscribed "1543, GAUDENTIUS."

GERMANY.

BERLIN, National Gallery.

No. 213, Annunciation. Oil on wood.

"Ave Maria" in Gothic lettering.

BERLIN, Herr Eugen Schweitzer.

The Angel Gabriel (E.). Oil on wood.

Part of an Annunciation.

Four Putti. Small panels in chiaroscuro.

BRESLAU, Schlesisches Museum.

A Portrait of a Man. Attributed to Gaudenzio.

KÖNIGSBERG, The Kunstverein.

Delivery of the Keys. Attributed to Gaudenzio.

OLDENBURG. Gallery.

Madonna and Child and Saints. Doubtful.

ITALY.

ARCORRE, Signor Vittadini.

Madonna and Child (E.). Oil on wood.

Possibly from the Church of San Pietro, Rocca Pietra, Valsesia.

ARONA, Church of Santa Maria.

Ancona (E.). Finished in 1511. Oil on wood.

In nine divisions. Above, God the Father, 4 feet 7 inches × 2 feet 4 inches, and saints; centre, Holy Family, 3 feet 6 inches × 3 feet, and saints and donor; below, predella of Christ and the Twelve Apostles. Engraved by Piannezza.

Signed and dated.

BELLAGIO, Church of San Giovanni.

Altar-piece, 8 feet 2 inches × 3 feet 11 inches. Oil on wood.

Christ in glory, surrounded by angels bearing the signs of the Passion; below, saints and donors kneeling in adoration. Cartoon in the Accademia Albertina dei Belle Arti, Turin. Formerly in a church in the Valtellina, and presented to the Church of San Giovanni, Bellagio, by the late Signor Frizzoni in 1849.

BERGAMO, Galleria Carrara.

No. 98, Madonna and Child. Oil on wood, 5 feet 2 inches × 2 feet 7 inches.

Probably executed by Della Cerva. Originally in the Convent of Santa Chiara at Milan. Engraved by Piannezza.

BERGAMO, Galleria Lochis.

Nos. 48, 49, 50, and 51, Dancing and Playing Putti. Oil on wood.

Formerly the predella of the altar-piece, "The Marriage of St. Catherine," in the cathedral at Novara. Passed into the Monti Collection at Milan, then into the Borromeo Gallery, and finally into the Lochis Gallery.

No. 73, Holy Family (?). Oil on wood, 1 foot 7 inches × 1 foot 1 inch.

BERGAMO, Church of Sant' Alessandro della Croce—Sacristy.

St. Jerome and Three Dominican Saints (E.). Four panels, oil on wood. *Circa* 1510.

BUSTO ARSIZIO, Santa Maria di Piazza.

Ancona in nine panels. *Circa* 1539. Oil on wood.

Assumption of the Madonna; St. John the Baptist and St. Michael; St. Jerome and St. Francis; above, God the Father; predella, three scenes from the life of the Virgin.

CANOBBIO, LAKE MAGGIORE, Chiesa della Pietà.

Journey to Calvary. *Circa* 1519. Oil on wood.

Predella: Angels kneeling, and a Pietà in gesso, gilded.

CASALE MONFERRATO, Duomo.

Altar, left of entrance, Baptism of Christ. Oil on wood, much injured.

In choir, fragments of altar-piece, St. Lucy and the Magdalene, and predella panels with scenes from the life of St. Lucy. 1534. Oil on wood, much injured.

COMABBIO, LAKE OF COMABBIO, Baptistery of Parish Church.

Ancona. Oil on canvas, 2 feet 1 inch × 4 feet 8 inches. Doubtful.

Upper part, Madonna and Child, carved and gilded; lower part, souls in limbo.

COMO, Duomo—Chapel of Sant' Abbondio.

Ancona in wood, carved and gilded. *Circa* 1514-15.

Designed in great part by Gaudenzio, and probably carried out by Passeri.

To left, Flight into Egypt. *Circa* 1527. Tempera on canvas, 10 feet 7 inches × 7 feet 6 inches.

Above, Recumbent Figure of Prophet. Tempera on canvas.

COMO, Duomo—Chapel of San Giuseppe del Marchesi.

Marriage of the Virgin. *Circa* 1518. Tempera on canvas, 10 feet 7 inches × 7 feet 6 inches.

Originally painted for the Chapel of Sant' Abbondio.

CRESSA FONTANÈTA, Parish Church.

Assumption of the Virgin (E.). Fresco.

GATTINARA, Parish Church.

Five panels, the remains of an Ancona, representing the Madonna and Child and four saints. *Circa* 1518. Oil on wood.

GENOA, Palazzo Balbi.

Holy Family. Doubtful.

ISLAND OF SAN GIULIO, LAGO D'ORTA, Church of San Giulio—First Chapel to Right.

Frescoes, quite ruined by damp and repainting.

ISOLA BELLA, LAGO MAGGIORE, Villa Borromeo.

The Redeemer holding a Globe. Oil on wood. Doubtful.

MAGGIANICO, Church of San Pietro.

Altar-piece representing Sant' Ambrogio, San Bonaventura, and Sant' Antonio.

Originally painted in oil on wood for a church that was destroyed at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Transferred on to canvas.

MILAN, Brera.

Madonna and Child. Oil on wood, 3 feet 5 inches × 2 feet 3 inches.

Bought from the Prinetti family in 1890.

Martyrdom of St. Catherine (L.). *Circa* 1545. Oil on wood, 10 feet 10 inches × 6 feet 10 inches.

This picture was originally in the Church of Sant' Angelo, Milan. It passed to the Soncini family, and then to the gallery belonging to the Count Teodoro Lechi of Brescia. It was sold by him to the Austrian Government in 1829 for 48,000 lire. Engraved by Piannezza.

MILAN, Brera—Entrance Gallery.

A series of Frescoes representing scenes from the lives of St. Joachim, St. Anna, and the Virgin.

Begun by Gaudenzio, and finished after his death by his followers.

MILAN, Archbishop's Palace.

Adoration of the Holy Child. *Circa* 1530. A small panel in oil.

MILAN, Museo Borromeo.

No. 12, Madonna and Child with St. Joseph and St Anthony Abbot. *Circa* 1519. Oil on wood, 4 feet 5 inches × 2 feet 7 inches.

Putti (L.). Oil on wood.

MILAN, Museo di Castello Sforza.

Predella in chiaroscuro. Oil on wood.

MILAN, Museo Poldi-Pezzoli.

Madonna and Child with St. Dominic, St. Peter Martyr, St. Barbara, and St. Catherine of Siena. *Circa* 1518. Oil on wood.

MILAN, Church of Sant' Ambrogio—Chapel of St. Bartholomew.

Madonna and Child with St. Bartholomew and St. John the Baptist and Putti (L.). Tempera on canvas.

MILAN, Church of San Giorgio al Palazzo—First Altar to Right.

St. Jerome and Donor (L.). Doubtful. Oil on wood, 15 feet 5 inches × 4 feet 9 inches.

Engraved by Piannezza.

MILAN, Church of Santa Maria in Celso—Ambulatory.

Baptism of Christ (L.). Oil on wood, 11 feet 5 inches × 4 feet 6 inches.

MILAN, Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie—Chapel of the Santa Corona.

Scenes from The Passion of Christ, angels in the vaulting (L.). 1542. In fresco.

Engraved by Piannezza.

MILAN, Church of Santa Maria della Passione—Chapel of St. John the Evangelist.

The Last Supper (L.) 1544. Oil on wood.

Assisted by Della Cerva.

MILAN, Signor Crespi.

Pietà (E.). Oil on wood, 3 feet 10 inches × 2 feet 11 inches.

Once in the possession of the Rossi family at Turin. Passed to Signor Bianco at Milan. Bought by Signor Crespi in 1900.

MILAN, Conte Cicogna.

Marriage of St. Catherine.

MILAN, Conte Lorenzo Sormani.

Adoration of the Child (L.). Doubtful. Oil on canvas.

MORBEGNO, Church of the Assumption and of St. Lawrence.

Altar-piece. *Circa* 1516 to 1523. Carved, gilded, and painted.

Assisted by Del Magno and Fermo Stella.

MORBEGNO, Church of Sant' Antonio dei Domenicani (now used as barracks).

Lunette over entrance.

Adoration of the Child (L.). In fresco, 5 feet × 10 feet 6 inches.

NOVARA, Library.

Two panels of Angels adoring (E.). Oil on wood.

Bequeathed by Cavaliere Morbio, in whose family they had been over a hundred years. Engraved by Piannezza.

NOVARA, Duomo—Third Chapel to Right.

Marriage of St. Catherine. Oil on wood, 7 feet 4 inches × 5 feet 4 inches.

Engraved by Piannezza.

NOVARA, Duomo—Sacristy.

The Last Supper (E.). Oil on wood.

Originally in the form of a tondo, and cut down to fit into the panelling.

NOVARA, Church of San Gaudenzio—Third Chapel to Left.

Altar-piece in six partitions and predella (E., *circa* 1515). Oil on wood.

Engraved by Piannezza.

NOVARA, Church of San Gaudenzio—Fifth Chapel to Right.

Terra-cotta figure of Christ Crucified (E.).

NOVARA, Casa della Famiglia Faa.

Two panels: St. Maurice, St. John the Evangelist. Oil on wood, 3 feet 6 inches × 2 feet 3 inches.

Part of an ancona originally painted for the Tettona family of Romagnano.

NOVARA, Count Castellani.

Predella representing the Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, and the Flight into Egypt. Oil on wood. Much injured and retouched. Originally in the Parish Church of Borgosesia.

PREMONA (above Talamona, in the Valtellina).

Fresco on a house, representing the Madonna and Child with San Rocco and St. Anthony Abbot. Life-size.

QUARONA (near Varallo), Church of Sant' Antonio.

Madonna and Child (E.). Oil on wood.

RIVOLI, PIEDMONT, Royal Castle.

A Banner painted in tempera on canvas. Doubtful. Much injured.

ROCCA PIETRA (near Varallo), Church of St. Martin.

Altar-piece in form of temple, with carved statuettes and five panels (E., *circa* 1514). Oil on wood.

ROMAGNANO, VALSESIA, Parish Church.

Descent of the Holy Ghost. Oil on wood.

Early school picture, originally in the form of a tondo, and painted for another church in the same town.

SARONNO, Church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli—Cupola.

Choir of Angels. 1535-36. In fresco.

Engraved by Piannezza.

Four Medallions below, painted in 1545. In fresco.

SARONNO, Parish Church.

The Almighty (L.). Doubtful.

TURIN, Royal Gallery.

No. 43, Meeting of St. Joachim and St. Anna (E.). Oil on wood, 2 feet 10 inches × 1 foot 10 inches.

No. 44, The Almighty (E.). Oil on wood, 2 feet 10 inches × 1 foot 10 inches.

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No. 48, St. Joachim driven from the Temple (E.). Oil on wood, 2 feet 10 inches × 1 foot 10 inches.

These four panels once belonged to Signor Antonio Prina, and came from near Novara.

No. 46, St. Peter and Donor. Oil on wood (life-size), 5 feet 2 inches × 2 feet.

The right wing of an ancona.

No. 49, The Madonna and Child, St. Martin, St. Maurice, and a Putto. Oil on wood, 6 feet 6 inches × 4 feet.

Belonged formerly to the Confraternità della Scala at Casale di Monferrato. Bought in 1870 from the painter Orlandi for 20,000 lire.

No. 50, The Crucifixion. Tempera on canvas, 5 feet 6 inches × 5 feet 7 inches.

Belonged in 1830 to the Crescia family at Casale di Monferrato.

No. 51, The Deposition. Oil on wood, 7 feet × 4 feet 2 inches.

Cartoon in the Biblioteca Albertina, Turin. In 1799 this picture was sent to Paris and was believed to be by Bramante. It was returned in 1815.

TURIN, Signor Abrate.

A collection of Drawings.

TURIN, Royal Library.

A collection of Drawings.

TURIN, Biblioteca Albertina delle Belle Arti.

Cartoons and Drawings.

TURIN, Marchesa di Sant' André.

Christ in Glory, surrounded by saints and angels. Doubtful. Oil on wood.

Signature said to be under the frame.

VALDUGGIA, VALSESIA, Church of San Giorgio.

Holy Family, St. Barbara, and a Shepherd. Fresco. Injured.

Engraved by Piannezza.

VARALLO, Sacro Monte.

Chapel of the Nativity: Figures (E.).

Chapel of the Visit of Shepherds: Figures (E.).

Chapel of the Pietà: Frescoes only.

This chapel was originally the Chapel of the Journey to Calvary.

Chapel of the Crucifixion: Frescoes and Figures.

Chapel of the Magi: Figures and Frescoes (in part).

Chapel of Christ shown to the People: Two Figures in the crowd.

VARALLO, Museum.

St. Sebastian. Oil on wood.

St. Panacea, St. Peter (E.). Oil on wood.

These two small panels formed part of an ancona in the Church of San Giovanni at Quarona.

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VERCELLI, Church of St. Christopher—Chapel to Right.

Scenes from the Life of St. Mary Magdalene. 1530 to 1532. Fresco.

VERCELLI, Church of St. Christopher—Chapel to Left.

Scenes from the Life of the Virgin. 1532 to 1534. Fresco.

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Deposition (E.). After Perugino. Painted in gouache.

St. Roch. Fresco. Injured.

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VERCELLI, Church of San Francesco—First Chapel to Right.

Sant' Ambrogio. Oil on wood.

VERCELLI, Avocat Borgogna.

Madonna and Child, Saints and Putti. Doubtful. Oil on wood.

Four Putti in chiaroscuro. Oil on wood.

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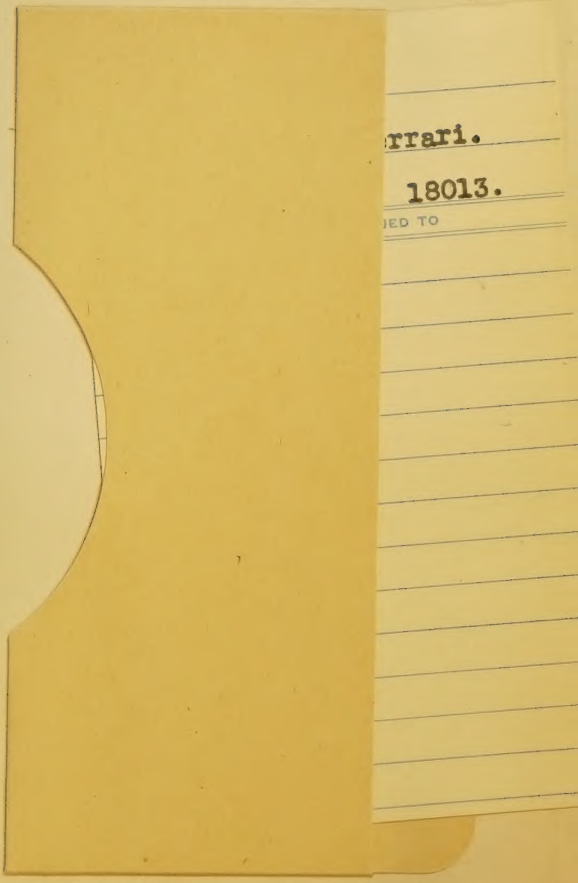
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